UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN EXAMINATION OF THE INSTITUTION OF BALLET AND ITS ROLE IN CONSTRUCTING A REPRESENTATION OF FEMININITY.

BY

Aletheia Isis Fitz ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled AN EXAMINATION OF THE INSTITUTION OF BALLET AND ITS ROLE IN CONSTRUCTING A REPRESENTATION OF FEMININITY submitted by ALETHEIA ISIS FITZ in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

Dr. Marsha Padfield

Dr. Debra Shogan

Dr. Karen Hughes

Date: January 27, 1998

DEDICATION

Dedicated to Winnie Tomm (May 12, 1944 - November 29, 1995).

I could never thank her enough for believing in me.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity. A triangulation method was employed, using ballet programs, surveys, and interviews. The results indicate ballet companies vary depending on the size of the company. There are, however, three main components: artistic staff, administrative staff and dancers represented in all companies. Each company was shaped like a pyramid with most people employed as dancers at the bottom, predominantly females, and the fewest number of people, predominantly males, employed as artistic staff at the top. From the interviews, seven themes were identified regarding how the institution of ballet affects female dancers: 1) double standard, 2) infantilization, 3) body image, 4) men in to administration, 5) ballet as a career, 6) female choreographers and 7) resistance. The institution of ballet is gendered because it reflects the experiences, prejudices and orientations of men more than women. Female dancers perpetuate the institution of ballet by valuing the discipline of ballet which enables the institution to be sustained in a hierarchical way.

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CHAPTER I

Is ballet as an institution responsible for enforcing sexist practices? Does the ballet world enforce a glass ceiling when it comes to the job opportunities females may obtain in the companies? Why does the dominant ethos of ballet not encourage women to construct and produce ballets? Are female dancers choosing not to use their agency to rise above the position of performer and teacher?

In 1983 Rudolph Nureyev was quoted as saying "Men are better at everything. 'You don't kneel to women. You mistrust them'" (Hanna, 1987, p. 41). We are just a few years away from the year 2000 and the dominant ethos in the ballet world continues to perpetuate the view of women as inferior, less capable and weak. Ballet, as an institution, is run by a few elite men who sculpt their visions of the 'ideal' ballerina onto the masses of young girls hoping to get noticed (Hanna, 1987 & 1988, Daly, 1987 & 1988, Adair, 1992, Novak, 1993, Vigier, 1994). "Why are men disproportionately the recognized choreographers and managers...in dance traditions" (Hanna, 1987, p. 24)? Judith Lynne Hanna (1987) proposed that dance is governed by a gender related prestige hierarchy that is occupationally differentiated and sex segregated with men dominating the most powerful positions. Hanna (1987) concluded that

> History attests to the liability of being a female or recognizably gay in the United States. Prestigious careers have been closed to the 'weaker sexes', as they have been closed to slaves and immigrants. Not only does work determine status and the use of time, but it also reflects physical,

psychological, social, and symbolic power (p. 24).

In Dance, sex and gender: Signs of identify, dominance, defiance, and desire Hanna (1988) stated:

> At a time when attention is being given to women's achievements as well as obstacles which have hindered these accomplishments from being more plentiful and prominent, no book explicitly examines sexuality, the 'battle of the sexes', and the cultural construction of gender options as they are played out in the production and visual imagery of dance (p. xv).

Hanna (1988) attempted to take a global look at the intersections between gender and dance. The conclusion Hanna (1988) arrived at echoes her previous statement:

> There is relentless male control over the production and reproduction of knowledge as it appears in the contours and quality of the kinetic discourse of dance. A recurring definition of a female is a body that belongs to somebody (p. 243).

Ann Daly published an article on sexual politics in classical ballet in the same issue of Drama Review as Hanna's (1987) article was published. Daly (1987) claimed that feminism had been deconstructing representations of 'women' for fifteen years, yet such work is rarely found in Western theatrical dance. Instead, ballet in Western society is based on the theory of the "male gaze" and on "dominance-submission patterns" (Daly, 1987, p. 9). The males are privileged in this system and women are denied their own agency (Daly, 1987). Daly (1987) argued:

> As long as classical ballet prescribes Woman as a lightweight creature on

pointe and men as her supporters/lifters, women will never represent themselves on the ballet stage (p. 17)"

In 1988 Daly wrote an article titled "Classical ballet: A discourse of difference" in an attempt to look at classical ballet from a feminist perspective. Daly (1988) spoke of how few critics investigate the patriarchal underpinnings of classical ballet and argued that male 'power' and female 'fragility' are equal only insofar as they maintain the asymmetrical equilibrium of patriarchy. The bipolar opposition ensnares women in an illusion of complementarity (Daly, 1988).

Daly (1991) maintained the view that dance and feminist analysis should have an unlimited partnership. She proposed that feminist analysis offer: a focus on process, an enrichment to dance history, the introduction of theories to dance scholars, and a broadened view of dance as a cultural practice (Daly, 1988). Daly's work offered a focus on Western classical ballet and a clear feminist perspective which Hanna (1987 & 1988) did not.

In 1992 Christy Adair released her book Women and dance: Sylphs and sirens. Adair's book challenged the hierarchal practices within dance and acknowledged the outstanding achievements of women in dance. She asserted that it is not surprising that women are judged as not achieving the standards of male artists. Women have been constrained by the conditions in which they work and when women do achieve work of equal aesthetic value the male prestige system devalues it.

Michel Foucault, a French philosopher, has written numerous books defining the nature of power in society and used examples of institutions in society to illustrate his

theories. In reference to the Panopticon theory, Foucault (1995) stated that permanent visibility reinforces the automatic processes of power.

> He [sic] who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he [sic] makes them play spontaneously upon himself [sic]; he [sic] inscribes in himself [sic] the power relation in which he [sic] simultaneously plays both roles; he [sic] becomes the principle of his [sic] own subjection (Foucault, 1995, p. 202).

Hence, the individual dancer embodies the gaze into her own consciousness. According to Foucault (1995), the awareness that one is visible is enough for an individual to start policing oneself, particularly if there is a set aesthetic that the individual would have to meet in order to participate in an activity. For example, the ballet dancer is expected to be thin, with her hair tied tightly back in a bun and she is to wear the correct uniform of a leotard and tights for her designated level of ballet. Foucault's (1995) theories on docile bodies and the means to correct training are addressed in Chapter II "Theory".

Sandra Bartky (1992) critiqued Foucault's work on power from a gender perspective. Bartky's (1992) article "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power" addressed Foucault's lack of attention to the disciplinary practices that engender the "docile bodies" of women (Bartky, 1992, p. 105).

In contemporary patriarchal culture, Bartky (1992) argued that the 'panoptical' male connoisseur resides within the consciousness of most women: women are perpetually before his gaze and under his judgment. Women's self surveillance is a form of obedience to patriarchy. Bartky (1992) concluded that these disciplinary practices are a

form of patriarchal domination debilitating a woman's agency to make decisions for herself.

Like Daly, some dance writers discuss the "male gaze", but Foucault (1995) brought a new dimension to this problem; what if the "male gaze" is in the consciousness of the dancer? Bartky (1992) extended the notion by questioning how the gaze is engendered and how the gaze effects women as "docile bodies".

Christine Williams (1995) suggested that men are in the positions of power because ballet is an example of a gendered organization. Traits that are generally associated with masculinity and femininity are built directly into the organizational hierarchies, job descriptions, and informal workplace practices (Williams, 1995). Williams (1992) argued that in female dominated occupations men are often "tracked" into areas that are considered more appropriate for males such as administration (p. 256). Through interviews Williams (1992) developed her theory of the "glass escalator"; despite men's intentions, men are often faced with invisible pressures to move up in their professions whether they would like to or not (p. 256). The glass escalator carries men to more socially accepted positions for their gender which are also the higher paying and more prestigious jobs in the hierarchy. Chapter III examines the institution of ballet and labour patterns that occur within this structure.

Ballet as an institution is a hierarchy that Hanna (1988) and Williams (1995) claimed has a gender biased prestige system that favors males in the dominant positions. Such might be the case, but no empirical data has ever been collected on what the institution of ballet looks like and whether there are gendered labour patterns occurring

within the institution. Secondly, the roles of female dancers have generally cast them as victims, whereas Foucault (1995) acknowledged that even "docile bodies" produce something, in this case the art of ballet. It is unacceptable to assume the "panoptical male" is inhabiting the minds of female dancers without first collecting data from the dancers themselves. If this is the case, Bartky (1992) would question how the gaze has become engendered and how the gaze has shaped dancers' experiences within the institution of ballet.

Personal Significance

In 1995 I completed a Bachelors of Arts degree in Women's Studies and had to make a decision whether to pursue a Master's degree in Women's Studies or in Dance. I have spent most of my life dancing and, during the past seven years, I have been teaching dance as well. However, the field of dance research was completely new to me. I only knew the practical side of teaching and dancing. After spending a summer in New York studying dance with two graduate students from the University of Alberta, I was convinced that the academic path was the one I should follow.

The first semester was rough, as I imagined entering into any new field would be. During the second semester, with the help of an advisor, I developed an independent study focusing on literature relating to gender issues in dance. I finally felt cohesion in my life. The literature I read for the course allowed me to pursue my interests in Women's Studies and feminism and to apply them to dance as a field of research and dance as a practice.

After the course I found myself continually mulling the same problem over and

over again. Hanna (1987, 1988 & 1993), Daly (1987 & 1988), Adair (1992), Novack (1993), Sayers (1993), Thomas (1993), Meglin (1994), and Vigier (1994) all address the issue of men maintaining the dominant positions in the dance world even though the ratio of male dancers to female dancers is very small. Some of the authors offered the hypothesis that ballet is merely a reflection of the dominant culture; board members feel more confident in a man obtaining a leadership role within a ballet company than a woman. It is my understanding, however, that no one has really delved into the question of why women are not in positions of power in ballet companies.

Significance of the Study

None of the studies reviewed contained empirical data. Most of the references are American even though Canada has three reputable ballet companies. Gender issues in ballet need to be recognized and further work needs to occur to develop the partnership between feminism and dance. To my knowledge, no one has ever used Foucault's work on institutions to reflect on the institution of ballet. Labour studies were also valuable in describing labour patterns found in ballet as an institution (Williams, 1989, 1992, 1993 & 1995; & Walby, 1988, 1990; & Bradley, 1989, 1993).

If there is a prestige system in the field of ballet which benefits males, then examining the institution of ballet from a gendered perspective may allow women to increase their potential power to effect this aspect of Western culture.

Purpose of the Study and Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity by drawing on programs, survey data, and

interviews. The result will be a visual representation of the institution of ballet as well as a descriptive account of themes and patterns that organize the similarities and differences that emerged from the interviewees and the literature.

Questions

1. What does the institution of ballet look like?
2. Is the institution of ballet gendered?
3. How does the institution of ballet affect the female dancers within the system?
4. How do female dancers perpetuate ballet as an institution?

Delimitations

1. This study is limited to the style of dance known as ballet.
2. The focus of this study is on ballet in North America, particularly in Canada.
3. This study is limited in that the focus is only on gender, not on class, race, age, or sexual dynamics.

Limitations

The institution of ballet is very difficult to access. In a positive way, I believed I was granted access to the companies and the dancers because of my own personal involvement and connections in the dance community. On the other hand, I acknowledged that my involvement in the dance community had the potential to alter the categorization of the data; therefore, an external auditor who is a dance educator was used to review all themes and patterns which occurred from both the surveys and the interviews.

Definitions

1. Artistic Director - A person who directs performances to achieve desired mood,

treatment and style of film, television, and stage presentations (Minister of Supply and Services [MSS], 1996).

2. Choreographer - A person who creates dance for film, television, and theater performances (MSS, 1996).

3. Executive Director - The person responsible for the financial planning of the company; i.e., touring contracts, royalties per performance, coordinating budgets, and ensuring corporate sponsorship.

4. Company Manager - This position varies with each company. The Company Manager is generally in charge of coordinating the production; i.e., lights, sounds, props, and the technicians for the different venues.

5. Controller - The chief accounting officer of an institution.

6. Administrative Assistant - An assistant to the administrative team responsible for general office duties.

7. Ballet Master / Mistress - A teacher responsible for giving classes, coaching sessions, and corrections for the staging of the choreography.

8. Prima Ballerina - The term for the first principal female dancer of a ballet company (Mara, 1987, p.13).

9. Ballerina - An Italian word for "female dancer" (French, ballerine): usually used to denote the principal female dancer (Mara, 1987, p.13).

10. Soloist - A dancer who performs solos. To be a Soloist is considered one rank above corps de ballet.

11. Corps de Ballet - Literally, body of the ballet. The group of dancers that comprise

the mass of the ballet company. Its members dance as a group and form the background for Soloists (Mara, 1987, p.35).

12. Apprentice - One bound by indenture to serve another for a prescribed period with a view to learning an art (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary [MWCD], 1993, p.57).

13. Power - Foucault (1980) stated:

> Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (p.98).

Please see Chapter II for a more detailed definition of 'power'.

14. Gender - The behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex (MWCD, 1993, p. 484).

15. Gendered - Reflecting the experience, prejudices, or orientations of one sex more than the other (MWCD, 1993, p. 484).

16. Agency - The capacity, condition, or state of acting or exerting power.

PROCEDURE

Assumptions and Rationale for a Triangulation Design

In this examination of the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a

representation of femininity, the variables are unknown, and prior theoretical work on which to base the study is lacking. In an attempt to begin to fill this void, this study employed a triangulation method in order to describe what ballet as an institution looks like as well as to discover theory through inquiry into the social processes that affect the dancers' lives. Bryman (1988) stated that "when quantitative and qualitative research are jointly pursued, much more complete accounts of social reality can ensue" (p. 126).

The term triangulation refers to the combination of methodologies in the same study (Creswell, 1994).

> The concept of triangulation was based on the assumption that any bias inherent in particular data sources, investigator, and method would be neutralized when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigators, and methods (Jick, 1979). A combined method study is one in which the researcher uses multiple methods of data collection and analysis... Alternatively it might involve 'between methods' drawing on qualitative and quantitative data collection procedures (e.g., a survey and in-depth interviews) (Creswell, 1994, p. 174).

I used multiple methods of obtaining data in order to link individual female dancers to the product of broader, complex social and economic issues (Reinharz, 1992). The first stage of the research involved obtaining ballet programs. I made direct contact with the general office of each of the three ballet companies, by phone, and asked them for a photocopy of the credits page from a ballet program from their particular company for the last three years. The credits page lists who has filled the majority of the positions from the

Apprentices to the Artistic Director in a given year.

I used a quantitative survey to validate the assumption that the majority of those in positions of power in Canadian ballet companies are males. A quantitative survey was chosen to test my assumption through measured numbers and analyzing the data in order to determine if the assumption was valid (Creswell, 1994). The survey allowed for a wider population, so that the general findings can be enhanced (Bryman, 1988). Survey research is often used to study social change and social problems. The results of the surveys, usually presented in statistical form, are valuable tools for documenting the differences between the sexes (Reinharz, 1992). Reinharz (1992) stated that statistics are powerful tools because they are concise, they have legal force, and they can be used to inform people about sex biases and other injustices of concern to women. Survey research typically denies, and interviews usually encourage, opportunities for clarification and discussion.

This research aims not only to document the structure of the institution of ballet, but also it seeks to understand why women are not filling the roles of Artistic Director, Choreographer, Executive Director, Company Manager, Controller, Administrative Assistant, Ballet Mistress or Ballet Master. Therefore, this study also used an inquiry process, through interviews. This process resulted in a complex picture being created from the informants words. Patterns and theories evolved over the course of the study (Creswell, 1994). Categories emerged from the informants and the information is context bound. Although three ballet companies were contacted for the quantitative survey and for ballet programs, the interviews focused on the dynamics of one ballet company, the

social processes which affect that company, and the interrelationships within that company.

Data Collection Procedures

The data was collected in three stages. The first stage of the research involved obtaining ballet programs. I made direct contact with the general office of each of the three ballet companies, by phone, and asked them for a photocopy of the credits page from a ballet program from their particular company for the last three years. The credits page lists who has filled the majority of the positions from the Apprentices to the Artistic Director in a given year.

The second stage was a survey that I administered to three ballet companies across Canada (Appendix B). The names of the employees were collected through the retrieval of ballet programs. The survey asked the employees who have filled the positions listed below during the past three years to fill in their name, age, origin, citizenship, rank within the company, length of time with the company, training, and qualifications or certifications.

1. Artistic Director
2. Choreographer
3. Executive Director
4. Company Manager
5. Controller
6. Administrative Assistant
7. Ballet Master / Mistress

8. Prima Ballerina

9. Principal Dancer

10. Soloist

11. Corps de Ballet

12. Company Apprentice

The surveys were sent to the Executive Director with a covering letter (Appendix A) asking the Executive Director to distribute the surveys to the employees holding the positions noted above. Two weeks after the survey was sent out a follow-up reminder was sent by me to the Executive Director to encourage cooperation in returning the completed surveys. Both the cover letter to the Executive Director and the survey went through the necessary channels to receive authorization from the University of Alberta Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Ethics Committee. The anonymity of the company and its employees are held in strict confidence following the APA rules of confidentiality. The surveys are referenced in APA style.

The third part of this study's design involved semi-structured, person to person, interviews with four dancers from one company. I attempted to limit informant bias by not having met the dancers before the initial meeting. Inclusion criteria for the four dancers were:

1. Sex - the dancer must be female.

2. Age - a minimum of 25 years old.

3. Years of professional experience - dancers will have danced professionally for five years or more.

4. Rank within the company - dancers will have obtained the rank of 'Soloist' or higher.

5. Training - dancers will have completed 75% or more of their training within North America.

All of the dancers, from the company being studied who returned their surveys and met these criteria were contacted by letter and asked if they would consider participating in the study (Appendix C). If more than four dancers responded positively to participate, then the computer was used to randomly select four names. Any dancers within the company that did not meet the five criteria were excluded from consideration.

It was important that the sample population be older as the dancers would have had more years of experience in the ballet world. As well, they would have had a greater chance to establish the necessary credentials to become an Artistic Director, Choreographer, Executive Director, Company Manager, Controller, Administrative Assistant, Ballet Mistress or Ballet Master.

I tape recorded the interviews in order to document the interviewees' ideas, thoughts, and memories. The interview consisted of open-ended questions (Appendix D). The interviewees' were free to ask me questions at any time over the course of the interview. The interviews were not standardized. While there was no set duration for the interviews, it was expected that they would last approximately one to two hours. The location of the interviews varied depending on what was convenient for the women individually.

All contact, from the first conversation on, was kept in strict confidence. The

dancer was given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym for herself at the time she signed the consent form. All rights of the participants were protected, and the information obtained will only be used for the intended purposes of this study. The letter addressed to the dancer and all interview questions were approved by the University of Alberta Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Ethics Committee. The interviews are referenced in APA style.

Data Analysis Procedures

The programs and survey data from the three Canadian ballet companies were analytically summarized in order to produce a description of a ballet company as well as to list the jobs available within a company. The data is presented in tables in Chapter III and Appendix E. Data analysis for the interviews was more detailed and extensive. The tapes from the interviews were transcribed verbatim. The process included reading through all the transcripts for a general impression. Each transcript was reviewed and notes on potential categories were made. The categories were utilized to identify themes and patterns that the interviewees addressed (Creswell, 1994). The interviewee was re-contacted to review the verbatim transcripts as well as the themes and patterns. An external auditor was used to review the themes and patterns that emerged from the interviews. The transcripts were re-read for a third time in order to code the categories into appropriate themes and patterns. Then I acknowledged the themes and patterns and their interconnectedness through matrices (Creswell, 1994). When I completed the analysis of the data, the interviewee was asked to review the written portion of the thesis that pertained to them. Participants were offered a synopsis of the study and will have

access to the thesis in its entirety if they request it, but no formal debriefing occurred.

CONCLUSION

There has been very little research done on the institution of classical ballet. It has remained a relatively unknown, closed world. As a participant within this world, I hope to open a window and shed some light on some of the social processes that surround the institution of ballet. My intentions are to utilize literature from: gender issues in ballet, feminist philosophy, the work of Foucault, dancers' autobiographies, and labour studies to try and establish a holistic picture of what ballet as an institution looks like and its role in constructing a representation of femininity.

In Chapter II, I explore the issue of power and how it relates to ballet as an institution in relation to Michel Foucault's work on disciplinary power. Feminist philosophy will aid in understanding some of the social processes that occur within this institution and some possible short comings of Foucault's theories. In Chapter III, I discuss the surveys and programs from the ballet companies in regards to the appearance of the institution of ballet and whether there are gendered labour patterns that occur. In Chapter IV, I investigate how the institution of ballet affects female dancers within the system and whether these dancers are perpetuating the institution of ballet. In order to accomplish this, I refer back to the literature on gender issues in dance, the dancers' autobiographies, as well as the personal accounts from the interviewees. In Chapter V, I summarize her findings and draws on any established conclusions that may have arisen.

CHAPTER II

In this Chapter I discuss the body as a text of femininity in relation to Susan Bordo's work. I introduce Michel Foucault's theories of disciplinary power, particularly docile bodies and the means of correct training, and relates his theories to the institution of ballet and its role in the reproduction of femininity. I then critique Foucault by using Sandra Bartky's work.

The Body as a Text of Femininity

Anthropologist Mary Douglas regarded the body as a text of culture; the body is a powerful symbolic form, a surface on which the central rules, hierarchies, and cultural constraints are inscribed (Bordo, 1989). Susan Bordo (1989) argued that the body, as a text of femininity, has a symbolic meaning and a political meaning within the varying rules governing the historical construction of gender. As she states in later work;

> Viewed historically, the discipline and normalization of the female body-perhaps the only gender oppression that exercises itself, although to different degrees and in different forms, across age, race, class, and sexual orientation-has to be acknowledged as an amazingly durable and flexible strategy of social control (Bordo, 1993, p.166).

Michel Foucault argued that the body is more than a text of culture; it is a "practical direct locus of social control" (Bordo, 1989, p.12). Bordo (1993) claimed that Foucauldian insights prove particularly useful for social and historical analysis of femininity. Bordo (1989) argued that women's bodies are:

> Deeply inscribed with an ideological construction of femininity emblematic of the periods in question. That construction, of course, is always homogenizing and normalizing, erasing racial, class, and other differences and insisting that all women aspire to a coercive, standardized ideal (p. 16).

MICHEL FOUCAULT

In order to relate Foucault's theories to the institution of ballet and its role in the reproduction of femininity, one must first abandon the idea of power as sovereign. For Foucault (1980) power is non authoritarian "yet it nonetheless produces and normalizes bodies to serve prevailing relations of dominance and subordination" (Bordo, 1993, p.26). Power is not a possession that can be held on to by a few individuals; instead Foucault (1980) described power as a network of non centralized forces which circulate.

> Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation (Foucault, 1980, p. 98).

According to Bordo (1993) one must recognize that these forces are not random, but configure to assume particular historical forms within which certain groups and ideologies do have dominance. Power is not sustained from a ruling leader as in sovereign power, but through multiple forces from different origins (Bordo, 1993). Spitzack (1990) stated that the corporeal forms of punishment were replaced with the "optics of power" (p. 43).

> Optical power is placed within the body of each person over whom it presides so that the individual 'assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he [sic] makes them play spontaneously upon himself [sic]; he [sic] inscribes in himself [sic] the power relation in which he [sic] simultaneously plays both roles; he [sic] becomes the principle of his [sic] own subjection (Spitzack, 1990, p. 44).

The invisibility and ambiguity of the source of that gaze encourages women to believe that the body standards they apply to their own bodies are personal and private standards. "Thus women may blame themselves-instead of social institutions and public practices - for their anguished relationships with their bodies" (Duncan, 1994, p. 50). Women believe that the gaze that they train on their bodies is their own ideal of perfection and they learn to see their bodily shortcomings as private, individual failures (Duncan, 1994). Within a Foucauldian/feminist framework, it makes no sense to view men as the enemy (Bordo, 1993). Men find themselves embedded and implicated in institutions and practices that they, as individuals, did not create and do not control, but they often have a higher stake in maintaining institutions within which they have historically occupied positions of dominance over women (Bordo, 1993).

Foucault (1978) argued that power is constitutive and not repressive. Power generates forces rather than represses them (Foucault, 1978). Susan Bordo (1993) argued that this is particularly important when referring to femininity because, for women, femininity depends on the willing acceptance of norms and practices. As Bordo (1993) described power it "'work [s] from below', [and] prevailing forms of selfhood and

subjectivity (gender among them) are maintained, not chiefly through physical restraint and coercion..., but through individual self surveillance and self correction to norms" (p. 27).

Bordo (1993) argued that Foucault's work enables one to account for the subversion of potential rebellion, but Bordo (1993) also interpreted Foucault as saying that where there is power, there is room for resistance. Institutions are continuously bombarded by knowledge and values that gather at the margins and penetrate into these socially constructed icons of discipline. Transformations are very gradual, often occurring through minute shifts in power and therefore, power relationships are unstable and resistance is perpetual (Bordo, 1993).

DOCILE BODIES

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries instilled the notion of the body as an object by implementing certain techniques to control and manipulate it. The scale of control was at an individual level in which each body was worked in relation to what was expected as the end result. Foucault (1995) described it as "exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself-movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body"(p. 137). The objective of the control was efficiency in movement. The rapidity of exercises provided the object with a basis for effectively completing movement skills. Foucault (1995) stated that "modality implies an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the process of the activity rather than the result and it is exercised according to a codification that partitions

as closely as possible time, space, movement" (p. 137). According to Foucault (1995) the combined effects from these methods may be referred to as 'disciplines'. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "the disciplines became general formulas of domination", thus discipline produces subjected, practised bodies also referred to as "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1995, p. 137). Foucault (1995) argued that docile bodies are "bodies whose forces and energies are habituated to external regulation, subjection, transformation, 'improvement'" (Bordo, 1993, p. 166). Likewise, dancer Toni Bentley (1982) stated "one must resort to human values, but dancers do not train to be 'human', only to dance-so our self worth relies totally on dancing and the values that apply. What else is there" (p. 97)?

Exercise

Foucault (1995) defined exercise as "that technique by which one imposes on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated". This was also the fundamental principle behind Enrico Cecchetti 's method of training dancers (p. 161). The Cecchetti ballet syllabus was developed as a training program for the young, aspiring professional dancer. The exercises in the Cecchetti method of training are a gradual progression from grade one up to the advance level of ballet. By manipulating the exercises, difficulty is added to challenge the dancer as she becomes more efficient in her movements. The procedure of exercise puts an individual in relation to other individuals or to a set itinerary, thus assuring one of observation and qualification (Foucault, 1995). Though Foucault was not referring to ballet, his words echo the basic elements of a ballet class: "it is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body-to the body

that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces" (Foucault, 1995, p. 136).

The Art of Distributions

Foucault (1995) argued that discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space. Discipline, according to Foucault (1995), sometimes requires "enclosure" (p. 141). Enclosure is a designated, closed in space where discipline is a primary function (Foucault, 1995). In the institution of ballet there are two enclosures: the studio and the stage. The enclosures frame the proscriptive, prescriptive, and descriptive rules for that particular establishment. Gordon (1983) describes an enclosure, The School of American Ballet.

> As the thick glass doors of SAB [School of American Ballet] close behind them, they enter an enchanted realm. For dancers young and old, this vision can be a kind of trap-a trap set by companies, schools, and often unwittingly by balletomanes who see only the art, not the dancers who make the art possible. They approach ballet as they would a painting or a text, dissecting its aesthetic imperfections and accomplishments, ignoring the fact that the dancers are human beings with real bodies, real needs, and all-too-real problems. In fact, critics often glorify the worst conditions of the ballet world by preserving the romantic myths that celebrate not just what is difficult and exacting in a dancer's career, but what is destructive and brutal (Gordon, 1983, p. 206).

Discipline organizes an analytical space through the principle of "partitioning"

(Foucault, 1995, p. 143). Foucault (1995) stated "disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed" (p.143). Both the stage and the studio are partitioned off into eight points with intersecting quadrants that those imaginary lines make (Foucault, 1995, p. 143). Partitioning eliminates any wasted time or energy. Once the dancer knows the eight points of the room she is able to manipulate her body to respond to any of the lines which could be performed according to a verbal command by the choreographer.

Foucault (1995) specified that "functional sites..., code a space that architecture generally left at the disposal of several different uses" (p. 143). Each dancer is taught to imagine a box within which she performs, even when moving; thus, if each dancer stays within the parameters of her box there should be no miscalculations as far as spacing. The dancer's box is used as a metaphor to instill awareness in the dancers as to where their functional sites are, both on and off the stage.

Foucault (1995) defined "rank" as "the place one occupies in a classification... discipline is an art of rank, ...it individualizes bodies by location that does not give a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations" (p. 145). The rank of the dancer will effect her placement on the stage. For example, the functional sites of the corps de ballet are generally poised at the back of the stage whereas the functional site of a Soloist will be at the centre front of the stage where the audience may see her. Toni Bentley (1982) commented on how rank effects a dancer's position:

> There is a strange irony in our hierarchical situation. When one is first a member of the company, one dances every ballet. Then one proceeds, one

> is taken out of ballets and the younger kids move in. It is a great triumph and a sign of seniority to be 'out' of a ballet (pp. 31-32).

A dancer is taken out of a ballet so that she may learn a Soloist's role. With time, if the Soloist proves herself worthy, she will be titled Prima Ballerina or Principal Dancer. Rank is based on a hierarchy of knowledge and/or ability (Foucault, 1995). Ballet as a discipline controls the dancer's space.

The Control of Activity

"The control of activity", based on the manipulation of time, is also central to disciplining bodies (Foucault, 1995, p. 149). The "time-table" is a general framework for an activity (Foucault, 1995, p. 149). Foucault (1995) stated that time tables establish rhythms, impose occupations and regulate the cycle of rapidity. The time table is a way of controlling a dancer's time.

> Our schedule for each day is mapped out for us only the evening before... By eleven p.m., the schedule can be assumed to be final, although in the course of the next day things are often changed... The schedule is our reference point all day long. It dictates our when, where and what; the why is understood (Bentley, 1982, p. 32 & 33).

Foucault (1995) described the "temporal elaboration of the act" as an "obligatory rhythm, imposed from the outside; it is a programme; it assures the elaboration of the act itself; it controls its development and its stages from the inside" (p. 152). A ballet syllabus is fundamentally dependent on the temporal elaboration of the act.

> A sort of anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour is defined. The act

> is broken down into its elements; the position of the body, limbs, articulations are defined; to each movement are assigned a direction, an aptitude, a duration; their order of succession is prescribed (Foucault, 1995, p. 152).

Ballet syllabus is the anatomo-chronological order of the exercises written down and published in book form for each level of ballet. For example, in one exercise, on the count of "&a7", the dancer is asked to demonstrate:

> Pas de bourree under ending with chasse en avant, and releve in arabesque croise, left arm reverses through attitude, bras croise and into arabesque a dos (Imperial Society of Teachers Dancing [I.S.T.D.], Intermediate; 1996).

The dancer must know where to place each individual part of her body at all times.

"Hence the correlation of the body and the gesture" is not just about learning gestures, but which gestures aid in the aesthetic appeal of the whole body (Foucault, 1995, p. 152). Foucault (1995) argued that correct use of the whole body produce speed and efficiency of movements. Enrico Cecchetti devised head rules to aid the dancer in knowing which position her head should be and when. The idea is that the head weighs a considerable amount; therefore, if the head is in correlation to the movements of the body, it will aid the body in moving more efficiently and at a faster speed.

> According to Foucault (1995) "The body-object articulation", ...consists of a breakdown of the total gesture into two parallel series: that of the parts of the body to be used... and that of the parts of the object to be manipulated... then the two sets of parts are correlated together

> according to a number of simple gestures... lastly, it fixes the canonical succession in which each of these correlations occupies a particular place (p. 153).

The body-object articulations are different for boys and girls in the institution of ballet. As a dancer reaches puberty, both males and females are given a rite of passage into adulthood.

If a dancer has followed the rules of ballet as a discipline it is generally assumed, that by the time a girl starts to menstruate, her technical accomplishments are strong enough to honour her with a pair of pointe shoes. The dancer must have enough strength in the metatarsals of her feet to manipulate the pointe shoes. The box of the pointe shoe must be strong enough to support the dancer up onto her toes. Pointe shoes, in my opinion, are one of the strange phenomenons of the ballet world. Every girl dreams of getting her first pair even though they know those bleeding blisters, bruised toenails, and bunions are soon to follow the satin slippers. There is no such thing as comfortable pointe shoes; no sooner has a dancer broken them in and then they are too soft to support her on pointe. The battle is a never-ending one between the dancer and her shoes.

The boys have a very different rite of passage. The object the boys must learn to manipulate is the female dancer. This offers an interesting dynamic because the object has a voice to talk back. When a boy is noticed for having control and great strength over his own facilities it is recommended that he is ready to partner a female dancer. A male dancer must manipulate his body to bear the weight of someone else without causing injury to himself or his partner. Learning to partner is a very difficult task. It takes

control and concentration; carelessness leads to back injuries, twisted ankles, broken ribs and very sore bottoms.

Foucault (1995) stated that "exhaustive use" refers to the principle of one maintaining maximum speed and maximum efficiency in order to produce a positive economy. By using a time table one is able to be more organized; therefore, able to use time more efficiently and to get more done. In order to produce younger, more efficient, less injured dancers who can compete with the Russians, dancers are subjected to new forms of knowledge: dancer kinesiology, anatomy and the biomechanics of movement. Dancers and teachers are continuously at the mercy of experts in order to keep up with the demands of the discipline. Experts with the knowledge in these fields are in positions of authority to manipulate the actions of dancers and teachers striving to achieve the art of ballet.

For those dancers attending elite schools it is not just the body that is manipulated, but the everyday tasks in life revolve around the dance classes. For example, a professional ballet school in Edmonton has started a program that allows dancers to complete their academic studies by noon so that they may start their dance classes earlier in the day than those who do not attend this special program. Those who tour with the company on weekends must find other time to complete homework, visit with friends and mend their pointe shoes or costumes. The training of a dancer requires two essential parts: a natural physique that can be manipulated to achieve the prescribed standard and a dancer who is willing to dedicate her childhood to training in order to meet the criteria for a competitive edge.

> Most parents send their children off to elite ballet schools like the School of American Ballet, assuming that teachers and administrators will ensure their well-being. On the contrary, in the process of turning out superb technical dancers, those schools impose such stern discipline on the students-in most cases, very young children-that they often jeopardize their health, both physical and mental (Gordon, 1983, p. 12).

Realistically, in the 1990s dance teachers are trying to produce dancers ready for companies by age seventeen. "Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power" (Foucault, 1995, p. 152).

THE MEANS OF CORRECT TRAINING

Foucault (1995) credits the success of disciplinary power to three instruments of correct training: hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and the examination.

Hierarchical Observation

> Foucault (1995) described "hierarchical observation" in the following way:
> The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible (Foucault, 1995, p. 171).

Foucault (1995) described the perfect military camp as one in which observation would be the key to exercising power and the gaze would form a part of the overall functioning of

power. Disciplinary power:

> ... was also organized as a multiple, automatic and anonymous power; for although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally; this network 'holds' the whole together and traverses it in its entirety with effects of power that derive from one another (Foucault, 1995, p. 176).

The institution of ballet has instilled a system of hierarchical observation in order to monitor the dancer's space, time, and movement modality to aid in achieving correct training. Foucault (1995) suggested that surveillance is inherent to the practice of teaching in order to increase efficiency. There are generally three different kinds of "gaze" in the world of ballet: self gaze, observational gaze and male gaze. Self gaze refers to the dancer's obsession with the mirror in which she continuously judges herself.

> As in the myth of Narcissus, the beautiful youth who falls in love with his own reflection, the relationship between the dancer and her mirror image is an intimacy of extraordinary power and potentially perilous consequence. Most dancers ultimately seem to drown themselves in their own images, pushed by unseen forces. The dimensions of the tragedy are revealed only when lives and personalities are destroyed. Until then the damage remains invisible (Kirkland, 1986, p. 73).

The observational gaze is generally executed by a parent, teacher or examiner who evaluates the dancer's abilities. In reference to Daly's (1991) work, the male gaze involves

men in dominant positions moulding the dancers to their desired aesthetic as well as the men on stage portraying heterosexual love for the dancer. "Choreographers and company directors-almost always male-mold ballet's young women to an ideal of the feminine that equates beauty and grace with excessive thinness" (Gordon, 1983, p. 13).

Normalizing Judgement

Foucault (1995) described "normalizing judgment" as "the perpetual penality that transverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes" (p. 177 & 183). Foucault (1995) argued that it is essential to all disciplinary systems to have a penal mechanism. Punishment may include anything from physical punishment to petty humiliations (Foucault, 1995). Disciplinary systems favour punishments that are exercise intensified or repeated. For example, if a dancer has executed an exercise incorrectly, it is not uncommon to demand that the exercise be done infinitely until it is executed to the teacher's satisfaction in anticipation of closing the gap between the dancer's execution of the exercise and the set standard. "Disciplinary punishment has the function of reducing gaps. It must therefore be essentially corrective" (Foucault, 1995, p. 179).

In my opinion, petty humiliations are as inherent to the ballet class as is the penal mechanism. For some dancers mockery may add stress to their ballet experiences especially when their close friends are present to witness the petty humiliations (p. 231). Unfortunately, petty mockery is not all that a student will hear in some ballet classes.

> So central is criticism to the ballet experience that it becomes, perversely, a compliment. If a teacher bothers to recognize a student and stops to

> inform her of her faults, it is because he feels that there is hope and that the student is worthy of time and attention. In this system, even anger is a kind of gift; dancers worry if they are not chastised. They know that many teachers communicate only with prized students and neglect those they feel are unworthy (Gordon, 1983, p. 27).

"What is specific to the disciplinary penalty is nonobservance, which does not measure up to the rule, that departs from it" (Foucault, 1995, p. 178). If a dancer does not conform to the set standard, her behaviour becomes punishable. Disciplinary punishment has the function of reducing the gaps between the strongest and the weakest dancers; therefore, if the choreographer punishes the weakest dancer by replacing her with someone else who can complete the necessary movements, then all the dancers start to pay close attention to detail so that they do not stand out as incompetent or unable to dance the set choreography. The goal of the corps de ballet is for everyone to look homogeneous; the group of dancers must all move as one. Michelle Benash reflected on her experiences as a corps de ballet dancer: 'What happens when you're a dancer is that you lose your personality. Your movements, your style, are dictated to you; you have to give up a part of yourself' (Gordon, 1983, p. 112).

With discipline, punishment only constitutes half of the system; gratification makes up the other half (Foucault, 1995). It is this finely tuned balance that allows the teacher to train her dancers and correct them. Each teacher will manipulate this relationship differently; however, it is generally understood that the gratification of dancing should outweigh the punishments otherwise it is unlikely that many students would continue to

dance. Often it is assumed that the strict disciplinarians who yell at the dancers are most qualified to produce the best results. 'The attitude is very negative', commented Regina, a student from the School of American Ballet.

> 'If you don't have the perfect body or if you can't catch steps quickly enough, the teachers immediately knock you down. They'll say, 'you have bad feet, they're so ugly'; or 'can't you lift your leg higher, what's wrong with you?' It's always what's wrong, never what's right' (Gordon, 1983, p. 26).

Distributing dancers according to rank has a dual purpose: it hierarchizes the gaps in abilities and it also punishes and rewards. To return to one of my previous examples of a professional ballet program in Edmonton, all of the students from age three to adults are required to wear different coloured uniforms according to the level at which they are currently dancing. This disciplinary system causes constant pressure to conform to the set standards in order to stay with one's peers. For example, the day after the ballet examinations are completed those who passed and will be moving on into a more advanced level will all be allowed to wear the new colour of uniform. Those that did not pass their ballet exam will have to continue to wear the colour they have been wearing until they succeed at passing the exam. Foucault (1995) stated:

> Discipline rewards simply by the play of awards, thus making it possible to attain higher ranks and places; it punishes by reversing this process. Rank in itself serves as a reward or punishment (p. 181).

The pressure to conform to the same model for all ballet dancers can be a

devastating experience. Gelsey Kirkland (1986) stated that "starvation and poisoning were not excesses, but measures taken to stay within the norm, both professionally and aesthetically" (p. 245). In the disciplinary institutions, the penal system covers all points and supervises every minute which hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes, and therefore, normalizes (Foucault, 1995). Like hierarchal observation, normalization is one of the instruments of power.

The Examination

"The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment" (Foucault, 1995, p. 184). The examination individuates the dancers against the homogenized set standards. The process of normalization occurs as the dancers attempt to meet the set standard. In order to evaluate the standard, the institution of ballet has set up highly elaborate examination processes. Examinations allow ballet teachers to ensure their pupils are properly distributed to the level where they belong.

"The examination transformed the economy of visibility into the exercise of power" (Foucault, 1995, p. 187). In the examination setting, disciplinary power is exercised through its invisibility and, at the same time, it imposes compulsory visibility on the dancers by making the dancers the objects to be examined (Foucault, 1995). The examiner sits behind a desk staring at the girls in their uniforms, each carefully adorned with a number pinned to the front of their bodysuits so that the examiner will not have to refer to them by their proper names. "The examination is, as it were, the ceremony of this objectification" (Foucault, 1995, p. 187).

"The examination also introduces individuality into the field of documentation" (Foucault, 1995, p.189). Once a student decides to take her first ballet exam, age six is suggested as the proper time to begin this process, a file is started on the student at the I.S.T.D. headquarters in London, England. Before one enters an exam, height, weight, and previous training must be filled out on an official sheet. After the examination, the student's grade and comment sheet will be mailed to her teacher and a copy is kept in the student's file at headquarters. The dancer's individuality is documented by keeping a record of her training, her size, and her strengths and weaknesses demonstrated within the examination. An indication of how the dancer measures up to the set standard becomes clearer as each year passes and the documentation procedure continues to become more detailed therefore, offering richer and richer information about the individual.

"The examination, surrounded by all its documentary techniques, makes each individual a 'case'" (Foucault, 1995, p. 191). Facts about the dancer's performance in the examination are arranged in columns and tables. The dancer, as a describable object, is not graded on her specific features; rather, it is a cumulative grade representing the dancer as a whole. The examiner exercises a productive power, based on a comparative system, in which it is one's duty to frame the standard of ballet students at each level and then determine what enables or limits each particular dancer from achieving the standard. There are also certain physical and motor developments that are taken into account. The standard does not leave much room for deviation, especially considering that children develop at different rates and are not all able to accomplish the same motor tasks.

Each individual receives as his [sic] status his [sic] own individuality, and in

> which he [sic] is linked by his [sic] status to the features, the measurements, the gaps, the 'marks' that characterize him and make him [sic] a 'case' (Foucault, 1995, p.192).

I once had an examiner who used a red pen for all my errors and a blue pen for anything positive. Even though the examiner's choice to colour code her comments may have made her job more organized, it added extra pressure to my examination experience because she made me aware of when I was nonstandard. It is the examination process that combines hierarchal observation and normalizing judgment to ensure that dancers are distributed and classified; "a modality of power for which individual difference is relevant" (Foucault, 1995, p. 192).

SANDRA BARTKY

In 1992 Sandra Bartky wrote an article titled "Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power", which looked at discipline and the role of institutions in society from a gender perspective. Bartky (1992) argued that Foucault (1995) refers to the 'body' as one; as if a man's body and a woman's body have the same relationship to the institutions of modern life. Bartky (1992) questioned "where is the account of the disciplinary practices that engender the 'docile bodies' of women" (p. 105)? Bartky (1992) stated:

> To overlook the forms of subjection that engender the feminine body is to perpetuate the silence and powerlessness of those upon whom these disciplines have been imposed (p. 105).

Barky (1992) focussed on three distinct disciplinary practices that aid in the production of a feminine body: the maintenance of a body at a certain size, specific gestures from this body, and the display of this body as an ornate object.

Body Size

Women in the twentieth century are expected to be very lean. In order to accomplish the 'tyranny of slenderness' disciplines such as dieting and exercise are strongly encouraged (Bartky, 1992). Arlene Croce, The New Yorker's dance critic, praises Balanchine for producing dancers that have "the body of a pubescent girl, the bones of a sparrow, the stamina of a horse" (Gordon, 1983, p. 209). Croce advocated starvation in order to obtain the Balanchine aesthetic; an aesthetic that has produced an epidemic of anorexia nervosa (Bartky, 1992).

Gestures

Barky (1992) suggested that there are significant gender differences in gesture, posture, and basic movements between men and women. Women are much more restricted and claim much less space. Barky (1992) claimed that women's gestures, posture, and movements must display three different qualities all at the same time: grace, eroticism, and modesty. For example, when a ballerina dances Aurora of Sleeping Beauty she must dance the role with grace, play the role of a sixteen-year-old girl that has never been kissed, and be a girl ready for the rite of passage as her father is about to marry her off. In the hierarchy of gender, women's body language speaks silently of their subordinate status (Bartky, 1992).

Ornate Surfaces

The third disciplinary practice women use to portray femininity is to treat their

SUMMARY

In regards to my initial question of how Foucault's work on disciplinary power relates to the training of female dancers, I argue that Foucault's work on disciplinary power is a foundation to begin constructing a genealogy of ballet as an institution. Though Foucault (1995) did not acknowledge how gender may effect disciplinary power, a genealogy could still aid in understanding the social processes and constraints that affect female dancers' actions in reference to power relationships. I believe that, in general, female ballet dancers provide a good example of Foucault's notion of docile bodies. Ballet dancers are very highly skilled, but because most dancers are raised in the atmosphere of ballet as an institution, very few of them are aware of the power relationships that effect their time, space, and movement modality. The institution of ballet has power because dancers embody the value of ballet as a discipline. Gordon (1983) stated:

> But what makes ballet special is the fact that abuses of power are institutionalized. They are built into the very structure of a ballet career, because most dancers have never had any experience of autonomy (p. 111).

In reference to 'the means of correct training', ballet as a discipline enforces and values many of the practices that Foucault (1995) detailed. Hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and the examination ensure the success of discipline within the institution of ballet. Bartky (1992) allows one to look at the institution of ballet from a gender perspective. Her work also helps to understand women's experiences in respect to feminine discipline. I believe that Foucault's (1995) theories and Bartky's (1992) works are a good foundation for understanding discipline and power relationships within the

institution of ballet.

> For ballet is more than art, more than business; it is a closed world where those in authority have almost total control over every aspect of the dancer's life. Behind the intricate and beautiful choreography we see onstage is an even more forceful yet subtle choreography of power (Gordon, 1983, p. 15).

CHAPTER III

In this Chapter I look at the literature on gender issues in labour, particularly patterns reflecting men in predominantly female occupations such as ballet. I describe what the institution of ballet looks like based upon information gained from the surveys and the programs and attempts to determine if the institution is gendered. These results are then discussed in relation to literature on labour.

LABOUR LITERATURE

Occupational Segregation

Christine Williams (1995) used the theory of gendered organizations as a basis for her work on labour. According to this perspective, cultural beliefs about masculinity and femininity are built into the very structure of organized labour (Williams, 1995). Organizational hierarchies, job descriptions, and informal workplace practices all contain deeply embedded assumptions about the gender and gendered characteristics of workers. "These beliefs about gender-which are often unstated and unacknowledged-limit women's opportunities while enhancing men's occupational success" (Williams, 1995, p. 9). Williams (1995) used the example that most employers prefer employees with few outside work interests, which is not a gender neutral policy because in general women are the care givers and do the majority of household labour (Williams, 1995). Most jobs are thought of as 'men's work' or 'women's work'. The fact that men and women are concentrated in different areas of work can also be referred to as "horizontal segregation" (Hakim, 1979).

Harriet Bradley (1993) argued that there are three fundamental components that have contributed to the sexual division of labour. First, skills associated with female tasks are considered natural whereas skills associated with male tasks are considered to require formal training such as apprenticeships or post secondary education. A greater value is placed on those skills associated with males. Second, religion has constructed a domestic ideology that justifies the assignment of women to the home (Bradley, 1993). Third, medical and scientific discourses have argued that women are controlled by their biology in ways that men are not and therefore women are less suited for intellectual work (Bradley, 1993). "Occupational segregation reinforces the belief that there are fundamental social and psychological differences between the sexes" (Williams, 1989, p. 5).

Hierarchical Division of Labour

According to Williams (1995) there is a second way that organizations are deeply gendered, and that is through the hierarchical division of labour. Williams (1995) stated "gender segregation exists in nearly every organization and every occupation, with men occupying the best paying and most prestigious jobs, and the highest positions of organizational power" (p. 10). This is also referred to as "vertical segregation" (Hakim, 1979). "Segregation in employment is the key to the explanation of the wage gap between men and women" (Walby, 1988, p. 14). It is often assumed that men need the better paying jobs to support a dependent spouse and children. Williams (1995) referred to Reskin and Roos' argument that most employers are themselves white men, and their economic decisions are made with an eye to preserving their race and gender privilege.

"They write that 'employers tend to place greater weight on custom, stereotypes about sex differences in productivity, and anti-female or pro-male biases'" (Williams, 1995, p.159). Williams (1995) documented how some organizations mandate this gender segregation through policies, informal interactions and gendered expectations.

Internal stratification refers to men and women in the same job performing different tasks (Williams, 1989). According to Williams (1989) the fact that the sexes rarely engage in the same activities on the job means that certain specialties can be feminine identified and others masculine identified, thus helping to preserve gender differences. Williams (1989) described how rules and regulations are enforced to maintain gender differences. Dress codes or etiquette rules are used as symbolic reaffirmations of sex differences that accentuate femininity versus masculinity. Informal practices also play a role in constituting femininity in women and masculinity in men. Supervisors evaluate men and women differently, qualities that are valued in one sex are often frowned upon in the other sex. Williams (1989) used the example of the word 'ambitious' which is often a quality highly regarded in men, but translated as 'pushy' in a woman.

Williams (1989) stated that it would be a mistake to claim that all gender differences are forced on people. In addition to the external pressures previously described, men and women actively construct their own gender identity by redefining their activities in terms of traditional masculine and feminine traits. This redefining activities to stay within the boundaries of gender appropriate behavior is in direct response to people outside of the occupations. Men in predominantly female dominated fields, such as nursing, librarians, and dance are often assumed to be gay. This homophobic assumption

may drive men and women to conform to gender expectations even more, which sometimes results in hyper masculinity or hyper femininity (Williams, 1989). Official policies and informal practices, as well as the redefinition of work by men and women in nontraditional occupations, all function to maintain gender differences even when men and women are participating in the same occupation.

Role Differences

Men make greater efforts than women to distinguish their roles, while women, seek to minimize the role differences between themselves and their male colleagues (Williams, 1989). Women's femininity does not seem threatened when they engage in nontraditional work whereas men's masculinity appears to be threatened. Williams (1989) examined a number of socialization theories as to why men have more at stake in preserving gender differences. Based on psychoanalytic theory, Williams (1989) concluded that girls fare much better in establishing their adult gender identity because they are feminine identified from the start. A girl's first love object is her mother, so the development of her gender identity is conflict free because she can imitate her mother's behavior. Boys gender identity is more difficult because their first love object is their mother, but then they are taught to model themselves like their father which causes conflict in the development of their gender identity. "Adult men are more concerned than women with establishing and defending their gender identity because of their early ties to their mothers" (Williams, 1989, p. 14).

Men in 'Women's' Work

Rosebeth Kanter (1975) argued that the members of any social group would be

discriminated against and marginalized if their group made up less than 15% of an organization. Kanter predicted that the hostility women felt working in male dominated occupations would diminish as women's numbers increased to over 15%.

> According to Kanter, tokenism leads to discrimination and under achievement for several reasons. First, because tokens are visible-they readily stand out in a crowd-they experience extreme pressure to perform well, which is psychologically taxing, and thus tends to impede successful performance. Furthermore, members of the dominant group (called 'dominants') often resent the extra attention tokens receive, interpreting it as unwarranted favoritism. Dominants view tokens as threatening to their culture, so they constantly subject the tokens to exaggerated displays of this culture, remind them of their difference, isolate them, and pressure them to accommodate and accept their dominate culture. Finally, tokens are subject to stereotyping. They are usually cast into peripheral roles that conflict with the demands of the organization (Williams, 1995, p. 66).

Kanter's theory of tokenism was considered gender neutral, but it does not account for Williams' (1989) findings of men in predominantly female occupations.

Williams (1989) found that women are not threatened by men entering into their fields of work. In fact Williams (1989) found that there was a notable absence of restrictions and barriers on men entering 'women's' work. Men who enter predominantly female professions are treated very differently from women who enter predominantly male professions. Williams (1989) stated that men:

> ...tend to receive preferential consideration in hiring: they are channeled into certain male-identified specialties; and they are pressured to perform specific tasks that are identified as 'manly'. But unlike women tokens, men apparently benefit from this special treatment: As Kanter herself points out, men are 'elevated' by their token status. They make more money than women (on average) in each of these occupations, and they are greatly over represented in administrative positions (Williams, 1995, p.8).

Men's motivations also play a role in their advancement to higher professional positions. For some men, leaving the most female identified areas of their profession, ie. professional dancer, helped decrease the stigmatization of homosexuality and helped to resolve internal conflicts involving their masculinity (Bradley, 1993). Personal ambition plays a role too, but what Williams (1992) found is that female dominated professions, such as ballet, structure opportunities for males independent of their individual desires or motives. Williams (1995) stated:

> Men take their gender privilege and sexual power with them into the token situation, making the effects of tokenism radically asymmetrical for men and women. Numerical under representation per se does not predetermine the success or failure of an individual: The relative social status of the individual is far more crucial (p. 80).

Glass Ceilings/Glass Escalators

Women have the opposite experience in male dominated occupations. Researchers

have reported that many women encounter 'glass ceilings' in their efforts to climb the corporate ladder. Williams (1992) claimed that women "reach invisible barriers to promotion in their careers, caused mainly by sexist attitudes of men in the highest positions" (p. 86). On the other hand, Williams (1995) found that men in token positions experience something like a "glass escalator" (Williams, 1992, p. 87). Often, despite men's intentions, "they face invisible pressure to move up in their professions. Like being on a moving escalator, they have to work to stay in place" (Williams, 1992, p.87).

The Working Environment

Men in non-traditional occupations face a different scenario, their gender is construed as a positive difference; therefore, men have an incentive to bond together and emphasize their distinctiveness from the female majority. Men are far more likely to be supervised by another male because men are over represented in administration. Some of the men Williams (1992) interviewed had intimate relationships with other men in higher positions than them. Williams (1995) suggested that gay men may be more willing to work in nontraditional labour because they do not have the expectation of having to be the breadwinner for a dependent wife and children. Women aid men in nontraditional jobs in hopes of advancing the career as a whole; however, at the same time Williams (1992) found that women often resented the apparent ease with which men advance within these professions, sensing that men at the higher levels receive preferential treatment which closes off advancement opportunities for women.

CONCLUSION

Occupational sex segregation is a very serious problem for working women. It contributes to the income gap between men and women; it perpetuates gender stereotypes; and it impedes women from pursuing some of the most prestigious careers in society. However, having a larger number of men entering traditional areas of women's labour is not necessarily the answer, because men's work is more valued than women's work; therefore, one must carefully consider the consequences for women workers, and take steps to protect their interests (Williams, 1995). Men who are presently working in female dominated fields of work are in a contradictory position. One aspect is that these men are pioneers on the forefront of integration, but the other side of the argument would be that these men are still the beneficiaries of a gender biased system (Williams, 1995).

Williams (1989) believed that men control the future of integration in the workforce. Williams (1989) stated:

> Gender does mean different things to men and women, but because men are in positions of power, their definition and evaluation of the significance of gender is the one that is institutionalized in policy and practice. Men's combined economic and emotional self-interests in perpetuating gender differences will ensure their persistence as long as men monopolize the dominant positions (p. 138).

Harriet Bradley (1989) suggested "in particular, we need to know more about the circumstances, both now and in the past, in which women and men either accept or challenge prevailing definitions of masculinity and femininity" (p. 237). Williams (1995)

argued that "masculinity is always defined as different from and better than women and femininity. Many men (but certainly not all men) support these forms for economic, social, and psychological reasons" (p. 122).

Any transformative effort to augment the social and economic appeal of women's professions would have to involve a reassessment of women's worth by both men and women and a recognition of men's and women's equal claims to a living wage (Williams, 1995). Williams (1995) concluded:

> For men and women to be truly equal at work, the organizational arrangements that privilege men must be transformed, and the psychological incentives that impel individual men to strive for differentiation from women must also change (p. 185).

PROGRAM AND SURVEY RESULTS

Procedure

The programs were collected from three different ballet companies in Canada for the past three years; 1994, 1995, and 1996. The survey was administered to two out of the three companies. The third company declined participation in the survey portion of this research project due to scheduling conflicts. The companies are referred to as company "A", company "B", and company "C".

One set of surveys, to company A, was personally delivered and the other set, to company C, was mailed because of the distance. All surveys to company C were addressed with the title of the position and the employee's name who was presently in that

position. Reminders were sent out both to the contacts within the companies and for general posting, but the response rates were very low. The overall average response rate for the two companies was 36.84%. However, the information obtained is still of value to this research project. Based upon survey information and retrieved programs the institution of ballet appears to have some general patterns.

COMPANY A

Company A is the smallest of the three companies. In 1996 total revenues for company A were just over 4 million dollars and so were the expenses (Company A Annual General Report 1995-1996). In the 1997-1998 season the company is hoping to employ a total of 30 people including administration and dancers. When the surveys were sent out some positions had not yet been filled for the new season; therefore, there were a total of 23 surveys to be handed out. Out of 23 possible respondents, 8 returned the survey giving a response rate of 34.78%. The following diagram is a summary of the number of individuals in the artistic department, the administrative department, and the dancers and the gender of the employees in this company in the 1995-1996 season[1].

Table 1: Summary of Employment in Company A (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Females	Total
Artistic Staff	2	1	3
Administrative Staff	3	2	5
Dancers	9	11	20
Total	14	14	28

[1]For a complete listing please see Appendix E.

In Administration, both the director of production and the marketing/development manager were dancers prior to joining the administration team. Company A was unique in the sense that the dancers were not ranked. The dancers who responded to the survey were very clear that roles were chosen by technical ability, performing experience and sometimes pure luck (surveys: Karen, personal communication, May 23, 1997; Joyce, personal communication, June 25, 1997; Matthew, personal communication, August 1, 1997).

COMPANY B

Company B did not participate in the survey portion of the research project; however, the programs for company B give a complete listing of all employees. Company B is considerably bigger than company A, but smaller than company C[2].

Table 2: Summary of Employment in Company B (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Females	Undetermined	Total
Artistic Staff	2	3		5
Administrative Staff	9	25	1	35
Dancers	9	16	3	28
Total	20	44	4	68

COMPANY C

Company C was the largest of the three companies surveyed in this project. In the 1995-1996 fiscal year the company had to balance a budget over 12 million dollars

[2]For a complete listing please see Appendix E.

(survey: Kurt, personal communication, June 1, 1997). In company C the corps de ballet reportedly earn about $25 000 Canadian a year, while principal dancers can earn up to $60 000 Canadian (Rupp, 1997, p. 93). These incomes are considerably lower than those of professional athletes. Surveys were administered to the company, but the response rate was low. Out of 110 surveys that were sent, only 41 were returned which is a response rate of 37.27%. The administrative manager faxed a copy of all employees for the 1996-1997 season as well as provided programs for the past three years. Company C may be described as follows[3].

Table 3: Summary of Employment in Company C (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Females	Total
Artistic Staff	4	6	10
Administrative Staff	11	32	43
Dancers	23	34	57
Total	38	72	110

The artistic staff did not return any of the possible ten surveys sent to that department. In administration, 7 out of a possible 15 surveys were returned. The administration department was the only department in which any of the respondents mentioned prior professional dance experience; both the Executive Director and the Company Manager were at one time professional dancers with the company. The other 5 respondents from the administration department all had a Bachelor of Arts degree or

[3]For a complete listing please see Appendix E.

higher. The Executive Director stated: "the move from the artistic side of the organization to the administrative side is unusual and rare in dance" (survey: Brenda, personal communication, June 5, 1997). The transition may be difficult because it involves going back to school to get a higher education. The Executive Director had a university education among other credentials, whereas the Company Manager stated that he received all of his experience through working with company C for the past 23 years and slowly climbing the ladder with time (surveys: Brenda, personal communication, June 5, 1997; Kurt, Personal communication, June 1, 1997).

While smaller companies, like company A, with a budget of about 4 million dollars often hire outside, part time consultants to coordinate with an inside person to keep the systems up and running, a company as large as company C requires their own in house department. The director of information systems wrote an eloquent letter stating the position his department plays in actively running a ballet company. He explained that staffing and seniority vary from company to company for three reasons: a) the relatively recent establishment of systems departments in arts organizations, b) the high cost of systems, which make systems staff an unaffordable luxury for smaller companies, and c) the fairly wide range of executive opinion about the strategic importance of computer systems and staff in typical arts organizations (survey: Barry, personal communication, May 30, 1997).

In the publicity department every employee returned the survey. Each of the respondents had a Technical Production Diploma or a Bachelor of Arts degree from various universities. In the marketing department only 4 out of a possible 12 surveys were

returned. The qualifications and experiences of these four individuals varied. In the development department 8 out of 9 surveys were returned. Of these respondents, 7 had Bachelor of Arts degrees and 1 person had obtained an Arts Administration Diploma. In the production department 1 out of 3 surveys was returned, but not enough information was given to comment on.

Very few dancers returned the surveys. Out of 57 dancers only 17 sent back their surveys giving a response rate of 29.82%. However, of the surveys that were returned, all ranks from corps de ballet up to principal dancers were represented. Surveys were returned by both men and women. The dancers who responded came from all over Canada, the United States and Eastern Europe. Out of the 17 respondents, 14 of the dancers graduated from company C's ballet school and the 3 who did not were all dancing in the corps de ballet. Not one of these dancers had an education beyond a high school diploma.

There were certain issues that were repeatedly brought to my attention by the dancers from company C. The most repeated comment made was that the ballet examination process has no influence on the future career of dancers (surveys: Ruth, personal communication, August 10, 1997; Tony, personal communication, August 8, 1997; Nancy, personal communication, August 8, 1997; Susan, personal communication, August 15, 1997; Linda, personal communication, August 11, 1997). A corps de ballet member who had completed all of the examination levels stated "there are no required examinations to qualify for a career in ballet, only talent, technical ability, the acceptable 'ballet' body and drive" (survey: Ruth, personal communication, August 10, 1997).

Another dancer described her qualifications as "years of training...and 'good' physical attributes as well" (survey: Linda, personal communication, August 11, 1997). As much as the emphasis is on education and experience on the administration side of the company, it would seem that physical appearance and dance expertise is the emphasis on the artistic side of the company. However, an education is fairly standard in the sense that one receives a degree, diploma or certificate to prove that they have accomplished the work. The definition of 'good' physical attributes or an acceptable 'ballet' body is very subjective. One of the dancers wrote this statement, "every Artistic Director is very different. One director might really like a dancer and push them, whereas another director might think that same dancer is not very talented. It's all a matter of taste" (survey: Nancy, personal communication, August 8, 1997). In Chapter II, I discussed how female dancers compare themselves to the ideal ballerina body. Though the ideal may be thin and well proportioned, some choreographers prefer tall dancers, other choreographers prefer petite dancers, some choreographers prefer brunettes, others prefer blondes, some choreographers prefer lyrical dancers, others prefer dancers with strong allegro. Even though there is a set ideal that most ballet dancers are trying to achieve, each choreographer still has individual preferences that draws them to some dancers more than others. In reference to this particular research project a Soloist wrote, "as for the institution of ballet representing femininity - an interesting question would be gender trends in choreographers and how their choreography portrays this ideal" (survey: Susan, personal communication, August 15, 1997).

Female Choreographers

Concerning the employment of female choreographers, I contacted the three administrative offices of the companies and inquired as to the last time they hired a female choreographer. Company A hired two female choreographers to set pieces; one in the 1992 season and one in the 1997 season. The choreographer from 1992 is still dancing professionally. Company B hired a female choreographer for the 1996 season and another one for the 1997 season. Company C hired one of their own second Soloists to set a piece in 1996 and again in 1998. Before her, company C had not worked with a female choreographer since 1976. Prior to the female choreographer hired in 1976, no choreography had been set by a female since that done by the founder of the company in the 1950's. In over forty years company C has only used three female choreographers. Please see Chapter IV, Female Choreographers, for more information.

Career Classifications:

I went to the International Occupational Classification Career Handbook, published by the Minister of Supply and Services, to determine the stated qualifications for an Artistic Director and a ballet dancer. With no surveys returned from any of the Artistic Directors, it was important to go to another source of information to determine the qualifications necessary for this position. There were four positions listed for the field of ballet: Artistic Director, Choreographer, Dance Teacher, Dancer.

Education: Artistic Directors usually require a certificate, diploma or undergraduate degree in the performing arts, experience in the production department and creative ability. Choreographers generally require a university degree or college diploma

in dance, or a period of study at a school of dance and extensive training with a dance company, as well as creative ability. Dance teachers often require a university degree or college diploma in dance or graduation from a private dance academy (an educational institution where children finish their academics in the morning and dance in the afternoon). Talent and ability, as demonstrated during an audition, are important hiring criteria. Dance teachers usually require experience as dancers. Dancers are required to have a university degree or college diploma in dance or graduation from a private dance academy. Talent and ability, as demonstrated in an audition, are important hiring criteria. For company A, out of five dancers, one dancer has a Bachelor of Fine Arts compared to the other four which have their high school diploma. In company C, out of 17 respondents no one mentioned any degree beyond their high school diploma, but 14 of them graduated from company C's dance academy.

Physical Activities: Dancers require greater vision, hearing, body position, limb coordination and strength than an Artistic Director. Choreographers and ballet teachers required less coordination and strength than a dancer, but more physical abilities than an Artistic Director.

Processing Data: Artistic Directors coordinate data and instruct people. Choreographers synthesize data and instruct people, as do ballet teachers. Dancers synthesize data and are diverting people. Diverting refers to a dancer's role in giving the audience pleasure and by distracting the attention away from what burdens or distresses.

Interests: Artistic Directors were defined as innovative, directive, social people.

Innovative interest in studying scripts to determine artistic interpretations;

> and in coordinating the activities of production staff to develop desired effects. Directive interest in coordinating the activities of performers and production personnel: and in advising them in the interpretation and delivery of performances, and in conferring with crew and production specialists throughout production and post-production to achieve desired presentations. Social interest in instructing cast members and production personnel to develop and achieve presentations that reflect desired artistic interpretations (MSS, 1996, 5131.2).

Choreographers were described as innovative, directive, social people also, but the reasons vary from those stated for the Artistic Director.

> Innovative interest in synthesizing information to create dances that convey stories, ideas and moods and harmonize with musical scores. Directive interest in planning and arranging movements of dancers and other performers, evaluating performances during rehearsals and directing dancers to achieve desired interpretations. Social interest in instructing dancers in their performances and artistic interpretations, and by demonstrating movements required to convey themes (MSS, 1996, 5131.3).

Ballet teachers were classified as directive and methodological.

> Directive interest in instructing dance technique to amateur and professional individuals and groups; and in teaching the techniques, cultural origins and symbolic meanings of native, ethnic and folkloric dances.

> Methodical interest in preparing dance students for specific auditions and performances, and in teaching recreational dancing lessons (MSS, 1996, 5134.2).

Ballet dancers were described as methodical people. "Methodical interest to practice and rehearse dance routines under instruction to achieve desired interpretation and presentation" (MSS, 1996, 5134.1).

DISCUSSION

The institution of ballet varies depending on the size of the company. However, there seem to be three standard components: the artistic staff, the administrative staff, and the dancers. The institution of ballet is a hierarchy with apprentices and corps de ballet members represented at the bottom and the Artistic Director at the top. There are considerably more jobs in dance than I had initially believed. Very few retired dancers make the move into administration or other departments such as development, marketing and publicity. In fact, there seems to be a large gap in the transition from dancer to administrator. This is interesting because whether one is referring to the artistic staff, the administrative staff or the artists themselves, both company A's and company C's employees emphasized the value of professional experience in the institution of ballet.

Is the institution of ballet gendered? The response rate in the survey portion of this research project was too low to adequately determine this; however, various patterns were found. For all three companies the founders of the companies were women. The Artistic Directors of all three companies were men. There were women in management,

particularly with company C. All three companies keep more female dancers on staff than male. The surveys, from company A and company C, which stated that dancers are judged on talent and beauty came from females. The emphasis for males may not be on their physical appearance, but on their strength, stamina, or leadership skills.

INTERPRETATION

Occupational sex segregation is a serious problem in ballet. Though the summaries of the companies indicate the gender of the employees in the artistic department, administrative department and the dancers, they do not give a clear indication of who is fulfilling the different roles. For example, the hierarchical division of labour is clearer if the information is presented in a chart that distinguished who is fulfilling directorship and managerial positions versus who is employed as assistants or receptionists.

Directorship positions included: Artistic Director, Artistic Director Emeritus, Executive Director, Director of Production, Technical Director, Director of Communications and Marketing, Director of Public Relations, Director of Development, Sponsorship Director, Director of Marketing and Membership, and Director of Information. Managerial positions included: Company Manager, Marketing/Development Manager, Marketing Manager and Subscriptions, Marketing Manager and Promotions, Facilities Manager, Accounting Manager, Publicity Manager, Customer Service Manager, Production Stage Manager, Manager of Technical Support, Manager of Membership Programs, Telemarketing Manager, Manager of Corporate Sponsors, Ticket Service

Manager, Manager of Patrons Council, Administrative Manager, Assistant Systems Manager and Office Manager.

Assistants and Receptionist included: Administrative Assistant, Assistant to the Artistic Director, Assistant to the Company Manager, Assistant to the Artistic Staff, Payroll Benefits Assistant, Publicity Assistant, Assistant to the Production Director, Accounting Assistant, Development Assistant, Sponsorship Assistant, Executive Secretary, and Receptionists.

Table 4: Hierarchical Division of Labour in Ballet

Company A:

Director/Manager				Assistant/Receptionist			
Male	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**
4/5	80.0	0/3	0	0/5	0	1/3	33.3

Company B:

Director/Manager				Assistant/Receptionist			
Male	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**
9/11	81.81	5/28	17.85	1/11	9.0	8/28	28.57

Company C:

Director/Manager				Assistant/Receptionist			
Male	**%**	**Female**	**%**	**Male**	**%**	**Female**	**%**
9/15	60.0	13/38	34.21	1/15	6.6	8/38	21.05

Vertical segregation does occur in the institution of ballet. Men are predominantly in the administrative roles and women are more likely to be assistants or receptionists in the administrative departments. According to Williams (1995) vertical segregation will perpetuate the wage gap between men and women, perpetuate gender stereotypes and impede women from pursuing prestigious careers such as Artistic Director.

It may be possible that company C has a considerably high proportion of women in management, compared to the other two companies, because the Executive Director responsible for hiring is a female. Therefore, she may be more inclined to hire other females. The barriers that may be blocking women's entrance into administration or artistic departments are unknown. It may in fact be a personal choice to leave ballet altogether. Williams (1992) claimed that women experience invisible barriers that block their entrance into administrative positions. The glass ceiling contributes to the vertical segregation of men and women in the institution of ballet. At the same time men are directed towards management as if an invisible escalator is helping them to reach the top. Williams (1992) argued that male bonding contributes to the over representation of men in administrative roles, thus the policies and practices that occur in the institution of ballet tend to be male biased.

I believe that it is a shared responsibility, for both men and women, to integrate the workforce. In general, men's work is more valued than women's work and it is men's definition of gender and the evaluation of its significance that is perpetuated. However, men cannot be expected to be responsible for labour integration because they are more likely to put their own self interests ahead of women's (Williams, 1989). Women cannot

be expected to be responsible for labour integration because women, in general, do not have the resources to make these type of changes occur. It is both men and women's responsibilities to reassess women's worth, to transform organizational arrangements that benefit men, and to impede men's psychological need to differentiate themselves from women (Williams, 1995). The companies that were surveyed are a small reflection of the labour patterns occurring in society.

CHAPTER IV

In this Chapter I discuss how the institution of ballet affects female dancers within the system. Based on the analysis and discussion from the interviews, I consider the role of female dancers in perpetuating ballet as an institution. Themes and patterns are identified and related to information from dancers' autobiographies, as well as to literature on gender issues in dance.

I interviewed four female dancers from company A. Company A was distinctive in that it was a very small company and the dancers were not ranked. I am aware that the information provided by the interviewees may have been skewed due to the nature of this small company compared to a much larger organization such as company C. Only one of the four dancers was contacted through the "dancer recruitment letter" (Appendix C). She was the only female dancer from company A who had returned her survey and met the criteria for participating in the interview portion of this research project. I was able to contact the other three dancers through a mutual friend who is still dancing with the company. I received permission from the other three women, via the mutual friend, to contact them by a direct phone call to their home residence to set up an interview schedule. All four interviewees met the five inclusion criteria that were initially set out at the beginning of the study: female, over 25 years of age, professional dancer for more than five years and had completed over 75% of her training in North America. Initially, I had set out the inclusion criteria that the dancers must have obtained the rank of Soloist or higher, but because company A does not rank their dancers this inclusion criteria was not

applicable. I met with two of the interviewees at a theater and with the other two interviewees at a hotel the next day. The interviews lasted from twenty minutes to a little over an hour. The duration was, for the most part, determined by when the dancers were called back on stage. I tape recorded the interviews as well as took notes. From the interview data that was collected definite themes and patterns emerged. An external auditor has reviewed the themes and patterns to limit my biases.

In order to protect the company's anonymity as well as the dancers', each dancer chose a pseudonym for herself when she signed the consent form. I refer to the dancers as Cathy, Nina, Lena, and Audrey. I found the four interviewees to be shy. All four dancers spoke very softly and rarely made direct eye contact with me. The questions that I asked the dancers (see Appendix D) are not central to the discipline of ballet, on numerous occasions the dancers apologized for saying little or nothing at all. Dancers are not raised to express themselves through language, but through the use of their bodies traveling through space. Though the dancers struggled to express themselves verbally, I found the information the interviewees offered was rich in content. There were seven main themes that emerged: the double standard between male and female dancers, infantilization of the dancers, body image, men in administration, ballet as a career, female choreographers, and resistance to the dominant ethos.

DOUBLE STANDARD

Each of the four female dancers discussed how there was a double standard in ballet for women and men. Cathy discussed how "the level of standard can be harder for

women"; women are expected to be technically proficient on and off pointe shoes as well as have "nice feet, beautiful legs, a nice physique, and be beautiful whereas if a male can turn, jump or be a good partner he has it made" (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Cathy explained that once women do make it into the professional dance world, they experience more stress to maintain their bodies than do males. Lena mentioned that women are expected to keep their bodies as finely tuned instruments, but it is not uncommon to go on stage and see the males with an extra five pounds around their midriff (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Lena talked about how male dancers get away with a lot more because there are so few men in ballet, whereas women are treated as if they are expendable commodities. For example, Lena described how she has seen women dismissed from rehearsal and reprimanded severely for walking into a rehearsal five minutes late whereas a man will just get a dirty look (personal communication, November 1, 1997). Lena has had to replace other female dancers because they were marking out the movements in rehearsals in order to save their feet for the show that night. Yet, Lena has gone on stage only to find out that her male counterpart has still not learned the choreography, so she has to talk him through it while they are performing (personal communication, November 1, 1997). Nina referred to how men can get a job "in a flash" because men are always needed in the ballet world (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Audrey had some very strong concerns with the wage discrepancies between female and male dancers with the same years of seniority. Though Audrey has been with company A longer than any of the other dancers, one of the men is getting paid more than her because company A cannot afford to

lose their male dancers (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

When I asked Cathy about men's status and prospects within the field of ballet she replied, "I really don't think men have much status in ballet" (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Cathy pointed out that it is the woman's name that comes first in the program, the woman gets the last bow, the woman is the main focus in classical pas de deux work and women are treated like princesses (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Like Ann Daly, I question why these things are important. Daly (1987) stated that women are first in ballet by default, because women are considered more beautiful than men. Women in ballet become the objects of beauty and desire (Daly, 1987) because as Judith Lynne Hanna (1988) indicated "classical ballet has bequested a living legacy of sex and gender images in which heterosexual chivalrous relationships create a romantic illusion that validates, idealizes, and veils male dominance" (p. 179). The interviewees themselves described the importance that was placed on beauty.

INFANTILIZATION

Audrey discussed the belittlement of dancers. Dancers are treated like children and therefore sometimes act like children pushing and shoving to get into the front line hoping to get noticed by the teacher or choreographer (personal communication, November 1, 1997). Also, Audrey referred to the other dancers as immature; in their behavior, in their need to gossip, in their need to put each other down, and the faces they make on stage. Audrey described an episode when the company was on tour: Audrey had just gotten off stage from the bows and a female dancer in the company approached her to say that 'the

applause was not for Audrey, but for her male counterpart' (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

In her autobiography, Karen Kain (1994) wrote about signs of discontentment which foreshadowed her manic depressive state later in life. Karen's grade 11 report card from the National Ballet School stated that 'Karen must learn to conform in ways which are demanded by those in authority in her chosen profession' (Kain, 1994, p. 16). Kain spoke of how the highly structured environment of the ballet company created an invisible barrier to personal maturity and independence.

> Traditionally, ballet dancers-even grown men and women with children of their own-are called 'boys' and 'girls'. For many of us in those days, these words both reflected and created the reality. We were positively encouraged to be boys and girls because our lack of independence made us easier to handle and less likely to have disruptive opinions of our own. We didn't think to object to our diminished status because we had worked so hard to become dancers that our innate confidence and independence of spirit had withered from inattention. Seldom hearing praise, all but the strongest of us internalized criticism so eagerly that we thought we were lucky just to be allowed to stay in the company. More than once after a mistake in performance, I cowered in a cubicle in the communal washroom, standing on the toilet seat so Celia couldn't identify me by my feet and bawl me out. When we were in really big trouble, we'd bolt from the theater before she could catch us. These were hardly the actions of mature

adults (p. 46).

In a biography on Evelyn Hart, one of Canada's leading ballerinas, Max Wyman (1991) wrote:

> A comment from a staff member about the way she was using her face was the last straw. She dashed to her dressing room and burst into tears, unable to bear the tension any longer. Moments later, she heard a knock at the door. When she opened it she found all five of the National Ballet's ballerinas: Veronica Tennant, Karen Kain, Vanessa Harwood, Mary Jago, and Nadia Potts. They crowded into the dressing room, hugging and reassuring her. 'We've been going through this for years,' they said. 'They do it to all of us. They make you feel terrible. Don't worry, you're doing fine' (1991, p. 112).

Judith Lynne Hanna (1988) stated that male choreographers and managers treat dancers like children, they teach dancers obedience and deference and enforce infantilism. Suzanne Gordon (1983) also criticized the infantilization of the dancers. Gordon (1983) found that the dancers, particularly the women, felt that their training left them susceptible to compliance with the needs of the male choreographer even when they were injured or psychologically troubled. Gordon (1983) stated that:

> Dancers all over the country complain about this persistent infantilization. If the problem were just a matter of language, they say, it could be easily remedied. The language is, however, a reflection of deeply ingrained company attitudes. Boys and girls are supposed to be seen and not heard:

boys and girls are suppose to be obedient: boys and girls need protection, not autonomy (p. 112).

Gelsey Kirkland (1986) suggested that the infantilization of the dancers makes them particularly vulnerable to starvation or drug abuse. Kirkland (1986) talked about her addiction to cocaine as well as her anorexia and how they almost killed her on numerous occasions. Both Karen Kain and Evelyn Hart battled with their weight, as well as depression. Both Canadian ballerinas spent years seeking psychiatric care (Wyman, 1991, p.105). Audrey, Kain, Hart, and Kirkland are some of the leading ballerinas in the world. If such turmoil exists in the lives of leading ballerinas, the pressure on thousands of corps de ballet members that are striving to be like these women is even greater. These leading ballerinas have set an aesthetic and artistic standard that all other dancers have to achieve if they want to share the spotlight. To begin to understand the magnitude of the problem, there are millions of young girls in North America that dream of one day leading the ballerina's life.

BODY IMAGE

The Mirror

Audrey spoke about her relationship with the mirrors in the studio. For every dancer it is next to impossible to keep a healthy balance between what one sees in the mirror and the aesthetic judgment of what is beautiful. The ideal ballerina "look" is never fully achieved; therefore, even some of the most talented dancers look into the mirror and see themselves as inadequate or deformed. Elizabeth Dempster (1995) termed this

condition to failure as an "economy of shame" (p. 33).

Karen Kain (1994) wrote:

> As I slunk into the back row, my old insecurities surfaced instantly, for it was always during class that I was most tormented by seeing in the floor-to-ceiling mirror-a dancer's constant corrector and reference point-how much my body and its way of moving differed from the classical ideal. I knew I was too tall, too heavy (or so everyone kept telling me), and poorly turned out, and my back and hips were too tight for high extensions (p. 27).

Maintaining Thinness

All of the four interviewees discussed how important it was to maintain a beautiful physique. The dancers described their classes, daily rehearsal schedule, workouts, Pilates sessions and training muscles on "The Fitness Table", but no one talked about their personal struggles to keep their weight down (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Karen Kain was ridiculed for being over weight. Betty Oliphant, principal of the National Ballet School, continuously told Karen's parents that 'she's talented, but she's too fat. She has to lose weight' (Kain, 1994, p. 220). At five foot seven, Karen normally weighs between 115 and 120 (Kain, 1994, p. 220). Evelyn Hart, principal dancer with the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, has become an icon of Canadian ballet. "Initially, the urge to be thin in emulation of Evelyn was epidemic. Anorexia became increasingly a problem at the school as Evelyn became increasingly important, and it overlapped into the company as

students graduated" (Wyman, 1991, p. 165).

The trend for beauty to be equated with thinness does not occur just in Canadian ballet. Gelsey Kirkland (1986) described her experiences with George Blanchine in class at the New York City Ballet.

> With his knuckles, he thumped on my sternum and down my rib cage, clucking his tongue and remarking, 'must see the bones.' I was less than a hundred pounds even then...His emphasis was responsible in part for setting the style that has led some of the current extremes of American ballet. I allowed him to use me to that end by trusting his advice. He did not merely say, 'Eat less.' He said repeatedly, 'Eat nothing' (p. 56).

The stress that these dancers are under to maintain a very low weight, is contradictory to the strength they need to perform the steps required. Unlike modeling, where the women have to walk or pose in pictures, dancers are required to push themselves to the extremes of strength, flexibility, and aerobic capacity, or to express it in dance terms "to go full out" for up to three hours on stage. Beauty equated with thinness enforces two practices in the ballet world: a sexual dimorphism that emphasizes the difference in size between the man and women during pas de deux work, and a veil of femininity that equates beauty and grace with excessive thinness.

MEN INTO ADMINISTRATION

Nina felt that male and female dancers had the same opportunities to move into administration or into positions such as Ballet Master or Mistress. The other three

interviewees had a different opinion. Nina may have felt differently from the other interviewees because she is married to the lead male dancer in the company. When Nina was asked about men's status and prospects in the field of ballet she automatically started to talk about her husband's experiences rather than generalizing about men in the field of ballet. Both Nina and her husband have taught at company A's school off and on, but neither of them have pursued any other roles in ballet other than professional dancers. Nina may teach in the future, but she has no interest in administration. Nina's husband wants to take a year off to let go of ballet as a professional dancer and then he will consider making the transition into administration.

Cathy believed that the transition from dancer to administrator was easier for men because "men have more guts and they don't take things personally" (personal communication, October 31, 1997). I asked Cathy to elaborate and she went on to explain that, in general, men have the ability to stand up to the board as well as other people and if someone says his choreography stinks the man won't take it personally whereas a woman would just be crushed. I asked Cathy if going into administration was something she would consider and she said "she doesn't want that much power" (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Audrey stated that a board is much more likely to hire a male to run the company because the board believes that men are better suited to choreograph for both men and women and that "men have more balls to run the business" (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Dame Ninnette de Valois, who was the director of the Royal Ballet in England, explained her success as "splendid pioneer work" (1977, p. 188). De Valois suggested

that women have a sense of dedication, detail, intuition and fanaticism. However, de Valois suggested that it is now time for objectivity, logical reasoning and acceptance of reality, so she recommended that men should be allowed to take over the decision making roles. De Valois (1977) stated:

> It is essential that we realize that the real history of ballet-and by this I mean the creative work, its organization, its pedagogy-has been a history of great male choreographers, directors and teachers. We want the public to realize that once again the development of ballet is rapidly passing into the care of the male element (p. 188).

The interviewees listed reasons why men are fulfilling the artistic jobs as well as management: 1) men do not have to worry about the children at home, they have a wife to worry about family affairs, 2) on average men start dancing about ten years later than most women and have better experiences, so they stay in it longer, 3) boards feel more comfortable hiring men to run the company, and 4) men have more opportunities to move into administration and doing so is in line with male gender expectations.

Lena offered reasons why women would not want to move into administration. Often female dancers want children, women quit dance altogether because they are exhausted and are tired of the upward battle. Women spend too many years of their life fighting a system that they cannot seem to change, so they quit in hopes of saving themselves (personal communication, November 1, 1997). Other reasons the dancers gave for not entering dance administration include: 1) women are not interested in administration, 2) women are not interested in the responsibility that goes with the artistic

side, and 3) most dancers are hyper feminine, so by staying out of administration they do not experience any gender conflict (Cathy, personal communication, October 31, 1997; Nina, personal communication, October 31, 1997; Audrey, personal communication, November 1, 1997).

BALLET AS A CAREER

Lena discussed how she feels frustrated by some people because they see ballet as a leisurely activity, not as a job. Lena feels the need to explain to people that she works 7.5 hours a day, Monday to Friday, and after that she will often go to the gym, take a Pilates class, or go home and collapse from exhaustion. Lena stated "people always want to know what you're going to do when you grow up" (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Karen Kain (1994) said:

> Our fight to be treated as adults with real jobs worthy of respect is just beginning...dancers spend as much time training and learning as any other professionals, and we do it so intensely, and from such a young age, that we often sacrifice our childhoods to be able to arrive at professional status by the age of nineteen or twenty (p. 267).

Ballet as a career is short lived. There are few dancers still performing in their forties, yet the companies offer nothing like an old age pension because, by society's standards, forty years old is mid-life. Therefore, it is left to the dancers to secure some sort of work for the future.

Pregnancy/Motherhood

Three out of the four interviewees are married and all three of them plan on retiring from ballet, as a dancer, to start a family. Cathy is the only one who did not mention having children. Lena was the only interviewee who suggested that she would like to have kids and keep dancing to help her body return to its original shape. However, Lena also discussed her concerns of how to balance the life of a professional dancer and the role of mom. I asked her if she had any idea how she would cope with these demands, particularly while on tour, and she suggested that it was just too soon to plan on anything.

Adair (1992) claimed that in recent studies in which women have discussed the issue of children and a dance career most of them viewed the combination as impossible. These women were not concerned about the physical demands, but with organizing childcare together with exhausting rehearsal schedules and grueling touring programs. Those few dancers who do have children and continue dancing almost certainly need to have full-time help at home and for those dancers on a low salary this can make the dual roles impossible.

Staying in Ballet for all the Wrong Reasons

Cathy mentioned that a lot of people stay in ballet for the wrong reasons. It is the only life some dancers know and they have no other skills (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Nina mentioned that some dancers make the "big mistake" of going from dancer to Ballet Master or Mistress without coming to terms with the fact that their own dance career is over, and that they are therefore, living vicariously through other dancers (personal communication, October 31, 1997).

Future Endeavors

I asked these women what the future holds as far as career plans. Though their futures may not be laid out in stone, as few people's ever are, these women have an incredible sense of security about their future. When Cathy retires as a professional dancer, she wants to quit dance altogether and start a new life. Cathy plans on eventually going back to school. She was not sure what she would take, but she said by no means was she afraid because ballet has taught her the skill of "discipline" (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Nina plans to have a child in the next five years, but she also has numerous employment opportunities awaiting her dance retirement. Nina has a hairdressing certification that her mom made her get in case an injury put an end to her dance career. She is an extremely talented seamstress and could make a living sewing costumes or clothes, and she has bought into a new business in the fitness industry. Nina also mentioned she enjoys teaching ballet at company A's professional program which is another option for Nina in the years to come. When I asked Nina if she was scared of the future she smiled and said, "if I was able to be a dancer for that long, because I started when I was seven and never stopped, I can do anything; there is nothing that is going to be as hard as this!" (personal communication, October 31, 1997).

Like Cathy, Lena also plans on going back to school when she is done dancing except Lena wants four to six children which may alter the timing of when she returns to school. Audrey wants to dance for another eight years and then start a family, at which time she plans on teaching and doing choreography work (please see Female Choreographers, p. 78). Audrey wants to teach and choreograph not out of necessity, but

out of love for the artistry of ballet. When listening to her speak of ballet and teaching, she speaks from the heart, she speaks with passion and commitment, and drive to do her very best. Audrey stated "I have mastered the art of keeping 20 seven year old's attention for an hour and a half", a task few people would like to take on (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

FEMALE CHOREOGRAPHERS

Cathy and Nina have never choreographed before and though they both admit that they might at some point in the future, neither of them have a strong drive pushing them in that direction. Lena choreographed when she was in a Bachelor of Fine Arts program in the United States, but it was not a positive experience for her. Lena says she's a perfectionist, so watching her ideas move on other people's bodies is a very traumatic experience for her because it never looks perfect. Audrey has choreographed on numerous occasions and enjoys the process of self expression. I asked Audrey how she sees herself as different from the other interviewees and she replied:

> "I don't hang out with other dancers; therefore, there are other influences in my life".
>
> "I treat ballet as an art form and I am an artist, ballet is not just a job".
>
> "I am not really self confident".
>
> "The other women are unprofessional, for example they will make faces at each other on stage during a performance. They lack sincerity to the art form".
>
> " I must create" (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Audrey described her desire to constantly be creating something; she loves to cook, knit, crochet, and her neighbors gawk at the intricate patterns she creates in her flower beds (personal communication, November 1, 1997). When I asked Audrey what her goals are as a female choreographer, Audrey stated that she wants to achieve:

"Giving choreography that the dancers have to meet emotionally".

"Fill a void, that is lacking because of today's fluff".

"To teach and create an integral true experience of what ballet is all about" (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

Audrey focused on the emotional artistry of ballet. As a dancer Audrey has only been emotionally fulfilled in performing two different roles. Audrey finds that much of today's choreography lacks an emotional outlet for the dancer, the focus becomes pure movement and not expression of the self (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

I asked the interviewees what their experiences were like working with female choreographers? With the exception of Lena, the other three dancers had only worked with two female choreographers; the differences the women described in movement styles or the disposition of the choreographer with the dancers varied as much between these two female choreographers, as it did between male and female choreographers. These four dancers had no agreement on female choreographers, other than the fact that there are very few female choreographers in the ballet world.

Adair (1992) stated that female directors and choreographers in ballet and contemporary companies are more likely to reinforce dominant practices because they are working in the mainstream, but women's work in these dance forms are important

because by directing or choreographing they are challenging male supremacy. Adair (1992) claimed that subversive images are more likely to be produced by "independents", choreographers not affiliated with large scale companies (p. 200). What Adair (1992) does not discuss are the backgrounds of independent choreographers; for example whether those raised in the institution of ballet produce choreography that is mainstream or whether they produce subversive images of females or males on stage.

DISCUSSION

Antonio Gramsci (1971), the Italian Marxist philosopher, argued that there may be contradictions between one's conceptions of the world and one's actions. For example, the interviewees complained about the infantilization of the dancers, yet when they were called back on stage by the Ballet Master for notes, they quickly ran on stage and sat at his feet as if being read a good story. Gramsci (1971) claimed that if one individual experiences these discrepancies it may be referred to as self deception, but if a large number of people experience discrepancies between their intellectual choices and their actions, it is an example of a subordinate social group borrowing conceptions from the dominant group to explain their own lives. I believe the institution of ballet reflects just such a situation. The female dancers report how poor ballet dancers are, yet they are reluctant to ask for better wages because it goes against everything they've been taught about how artists are suppose to suffer.

Women can come to see themselves through the eyes of men. References have already been made to the male gaze, but there are other ways women can come to

understand their lives through men. As Ferguson (1984) indicates about organizational power, "the political consequences of male dominance are such that women learn the role of subordinate, and that role can easily become self-perpetuating" (p. 94). Though women may want to move up into administration, the dominant ethos claims that men are more suitable for administration, so women do not pursue certain jobs because they come to believe that they are subordinate in status and are not capable of the demands certain jobs entail. Audrey stated that boards are more comfortable hiring a man to run company A because it is believed that men are better suited to choreograph for men and women, as well men are considered more inclined to run a business (personal communication, November 1, 1997).

People do not experience themselves wholly through dominant discourses. Discourses may contradict each other. Gramsci (1971) claimed that individuals recognize discrepancies between discourses and lived experiences through "good sense" (Grimshaw, 1986, p. 99). An example of contradictory discourses would be Gelsey Kirkland's (1986) statement:

> My failure of critical insight coincided with a failure of courage. I was afraid to take a public stand within the ballet world. I was afraid to challenge the prevailing aesthetic as well as the popular authority figures. Rage festered inside of me. Returning to the stage was like renewing my contract with a familiar devil. I was selling my soul on an installment plan (p. 175).

Ms. Kirkland displays this discrepancy between awareness and behavior. The question

then becomes, how does one unify thought and action? Discourses are not only ways of making sense of the world, they may also be means by which one group of people dominate or exercise control over another. Based on the work of Michel Foucault (1980), Bleier (1984) proposed:

> Thus, while the work of discourse appears to be the uncovering of the truth, it rests upon and conceals the struggle between those who have the power to discourse and those who do not. Both by their practices of exclusion and their definitions of what is, what is to be discussed, and what is true or false, discourses produce rather than reveal truth. The conditions and circumstances under which the discourses take place reflect conditions of social power at the time and thus themselves define the theories and practices (such as scientific methodology) brought to bear in the discourse, consequently determining the outcome...Hierarchies, relations of domination, subordination, power, and control are not necessarily inherent in nature but are an integral part of the conceptual framework of persons bred in a civilization constructed on principles of stratification, domination, subordination, power, and control, all made to appear natural (p. 194, 200).

In reference to the quote, the fact that one group exercises power or exploits another, cannot be reduced to anyone's belief that this is so; nor does the fact that someone does not understand their own experiences in terms of oppression or exploitation necessarily mean that they are not oppressed or exploited. Cathy's statement that men have little

status in ballet and women are treated as princesses illustrates such a dilemma. Though women may portray princesses in the classical ballets, there is little indication from the interview data that they are treated as such. It would appear that men are exercising power in ballet because they hold the positions of power; they are the majority of choreographers. Male dancers are also somewhat scarce commodities, which makes them highly valued.

With any discourse, there are questions that must be asked: whose interests are served by these beliefs, and what affects does this discourse have on the social situation of women (Grimshaw, 1986)? For example, in People magazine on December 21,1992 Mark Morris dismissed classical ballerinas as "dead virgins...encouraged to be stupid, pale, underweight, irresponsible children. They're raised like veal in those little sheds. They're unhappy, illiterate, inartistic, manic-depressives with eating disorders and no menstruation." When a quote like this gets published in a magazine with the readership of People magazine, Mr. Morris' comments become discourse and whether his comments are true or not, the average person who knows little about the ballet world will expect classical ballerinas to fit this discourse. This is extremely serious. Once one begins to examine the source of the comment, the validity of the discourse comes into question. For example, Mark Morris is a male modern Choreographer, yet he speaks of female classical ballerinas. It is possible that he is serving his own interests by demeaning the art of ballet. He may be crediting modern dance as better than ballet to attract media attention and with a comment like this he knew that the media would focus on him. What ever Mark Morris' reasons were for making such a blunt statement his personal interests are being served.

We must also question how a statement like this affects female ballet dancers. Does it belittle their integrity or does it shed some light on issues that are too personal to talk to the media about?

Foucault's (1995) discussion on the training of docile bodies differs from Mark Morris' comments because Foucault (1995) reflects on the effects that institutions have on people. Though Mr. Morris' comment may detail the affects the institution of ballet has on female dancers, in no way does it suggest reflection on how institutions produce docile bodies. Mark Morris does not describe techniques used to enforce the discipline of ballet; instead he uses harsh adjectives to demean female dancers within the institution.

Grimshaw (1986) stated that we need to reflect on what is "objectively true" about the situation of women (p. 101). Grimshaw does not refer to 'objectively' as a split between facts and values or as a detached theoretical stance; "it is a notion of objectivity, rather, which assumes the necessary interconnectedness of analyses of the situation of women, and proposals or strategies for changing that situation" (Grimshaw, 1986, p. 101). When Suzanne Gordon (1983) interviewed Gelsey Kirkland, Gelsey was at a point in life where she was looking inside for answers: 'How do you cultivate a new self without discarding the skills and talents you've acquired, which are both your joy and your pain' (p. xx)? Another way that this might be expressed is to ask: how does one keep the passion of ballet, the art of ballet in one's soul and discard all of the bad experiences? How can one challenge the discipline of the institution of ballet and still participate in the discipline of ballet?

RESISTANCE

The comments from the interviewees, the content of the autobiographies, and literature on gender issues in dance have offered insights into some of the social situations which occur in the institution of ballet. Jean Grimshaw (1986) called for an analyses of the situation and proposals to change it. Bordo (1993) argued that Foucault's work enables one to account for the subversion of potential rebellion, but Bordo (1993) also interpreted Foucault as saying that where there is power, there is room for resistance. Institutions are continuously bombarded by knowledge and values that gather at the margins and penetrate into these socially constructed icons of discipline. Transformations are very gradual, often occurring through minute shifts in power and therefore, power relationships are unstable and resistance is perpetual (Bordo, 1993). I describe three examples of resistance: 1) ballet in China during the Cultural Revolution, 2) beauty no longer equated with thinness, and 3) female choreographers.

Before the Cultural Revolution in China, dance portrayed women as delicate. The traditional dances of China, for women, were slow moving, with small, calm movements and the traditional garments were long and fitted, so the feet almost shuffled because they were restrained by the style of the dress as well as from being bound. Though the Cultural Revolution was not started by dancers, the representation of women in the ballets became a powerful image to change perceptions of women in society. Chinese choreographers dressed women in army fatigues, with rifles and bright red pointe shoes. They were jumping, turning and moving with an energy and power that had never been seen before by audiences in China. Women in dance were suddenly given a new freedom.

> The Cultural Revolution in China demanded the rejection of the traditional ideology and its expression in ceremonial dance with slow, orderly, restrained movements. Change, speed, and direction must characterize the new ideology and the new dance...It is not coincidence that The Great Leap Forward was chosen as the slogan...The great leaps of ballet were the symbols of the Cultural Revolution itself, a perfect, if unconscious, metaphor (Strauss, 1977 pp. 27-28).

According to Strauss (1977), a primary reason for the choice of ballet rather than another dance form involved the new image of women in China. The powerful, extended postures of ballet as well as the increased height for women compared to men, because of the work up on pointe, served to reject women as bound and immobile. Vigier (1994) referred to The Red Detachment of Women, a ballet performed in China during the Cultural Revolution:

> In revolutionary China, traditional ballet was transformed into a representation of female strength. Ballets feature heroines who struggled against brutality while the form showed women whose feet had been bound that great leaps were possible for all women (p. 107).

Ballet in China during the Cultural Revolution is a historically and culturally specific example of ballet being used as a form of resistance, but to some extent it draws parallels to the work of Edouard Locke in Canada. Edouard Locke is the Artistic Director of La La La Human Steps and a freelance Choreographer. Locke's work is known for its speed, agility, repetitiveness, and more importantly the strength of the dancers. Locke

dismisses the vital components of classical ballet "costuming, body image, movement vocabulary, training, technique, narrative, and especially the pas de deux structure" (Daly, 1987, p. 58). Further, Locke had abandoned the definitions of feminine and masculine movements. In Locke's pieces everyone must have strong bodies capable of the choreography, so sometimes women are lifting, carrying, or throwing men. Locke dismisses the traditional costuming, such as tutus, and dresses the dancers in clothing that is androgynous, so that the movement becomes the focus of the ballet not the ornate costumes or sets. Locke has introduced: a new representation of femininity which focuses on strength, new movement that is physically risky and incredibly fast, new scores for music that sometimes sound more like a rock concert than ballet, and costuming that does not emphasize the dancers' gender. What is fascinating about Locke's work is that he has abolished the principles of classical ballet in his pieces, yet his work is referred to as ballet and ballet companies in Canada have added some of Locke's pieces to their repertoire. Locke is resisting the traditional male and female roles in ballet similar to how women in China resisted their traditional roles through the use of ballet.

A more recent example of resistance would be the trend away from beauty equated with thinness. On November 30, 1997 the Edmonton Journal, ran an article titled "Today's body beautiful actually has some fat on it: No more starvation diets for ballerinas". The article focused on the transition away from the Balanchine ideal ballerina body to bodies that "are really solidly built, very athletically fit women" (C4). Though a shift in focus to a healthier body may be starting, more than anything this article reads as good publicity for the ballet schools' national audition tours. If the companies can

convince the parents that the schools are a safe and caring environment, then more parents will encourage their children to audition for the schools. This in turn creates a great deal of revenue for the schools. The article referred to a number of dancers that don't fit the ballerina mold, but these are still exceptions to the rule. A more accurate indication of the standard changing would be a profile of the children that were accepted into the National Ballet School and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet School this year. Then one could compare comments made in the media to factual, statistical information on age, height, and weight of new admissions.

Female choreographers themselves may be seen as an act of resistance. Bronislava Nijinska, sister to the famous male dancer Vaslav Nijinsky, produced approximately 50 ballets, many of which interpreted social comments on women's roles (Adair, 1992). In Les Biches (1924) Nijinska made two important social comments. Firstly, she created a satirical sketch of a house party of fashionable Parisian society in the 1920s. Secondly, she showed a lesbian relationship between the Girls in Grey and the Girl in Blue. "It is noteworthy that in 1925 a London critic said that with Les Biches, 'feminism [has] at last tinged the ballet'" (Adair, 1992, p. 110). Unfortunately, Nijinska never received due credit for her work because she lived in her brother's shadow. She was never affiliated with one company and therefore, often her work was overlooked by those that write dance history and many of her pieces were credited to other people after she passed on (Hanna, 1988; Adair, 1992).

If ballets can reflect cultural revolutions, women's bodies can be equated with strength and female choreographers can create subversive images of women then, perhaps

some degree of resistance can begin to effect the institution of ballet. The institution, however, is in serious need of choreographers who share this objective. More attention needs to be paid to generating proposals for change, without losing the fundamentals of the art of ballet.

CONCLUSION

The institution of ballet affects the female dancers within the system in a number of ways. Ballet as a cultural institution enforces a double standard, starting at a very young age, which dictates gender appropriate behavior as well as leaving women feeling like expendable commodities. Dancers are subjected to an infantilization process which encourages passive behavior and subservient relationships. The institution of ballet mandates a set body image that women are to strive for and in doing so, women may experience self esteem problems and eating disorders. Even though ballet is dominated by women, it is a traditional institution that continues to promote men into positions of power.

In general, female dancers are perpetuating the current state of ballet as an institution by not making greater efforts to change the social processes that affect them. Whether female choreographers are actually producing subversive images of women in choreography is unknown. I did not study female choreographers' work. Whether the concept of beauty equated with thinness is actually changing is also unknown because there is no documentation that allows me to establish who the professional schools accepted into their programs. What can be said is that many dancers have written about

their situations in the ballet world in hopes of making some positive changes (Bentley, 1982; Kain, 1994; & Kirkland, 1986). This type of resistance usually receives far more media attention than one person struggling to make changes in a company and may therefore ultimately be most effective.

CHAPTER V

This chapter summarizes the theory and data presented. By synthesizing this information I address the initial four questions that were asked. The need for future research and suggestions regarding its possible direction will then be discussed.

SUMMARIES

The purpose of this study was to examine the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity using programs, survey data, and interviews. The result was a representation of the institution of ballet and a descriptive account of themes and patterns that emerged from the interviewees and the literature. This study employed a triangulation method in order to describe what ballet as an institution looks like as well as to discover theory through inquiry into the social processes that affect the dancers' lives. In Chapter I, I described the research project and presented some background theory to frame the research.

In Chapter II, I found that Foucault's work on disciplinary power is a foundation to begin constructing a genealogy of ballet as an institution. Though Foucault (1995) did not acknowledge how gender may effect disciplinary power, it was suggested that a genealogy could aid in understanding the social processes and constraints that affect female dancers' actions in reference to power relationships. I believed, in general, that female ballet dancers provide a good example of Foucault's notion of docile bodies. Ballet dancers are very highly skilled, but because most dancers are raised in the atmosphere of the ballet as

an institution, very few of them are aware of the power relationships that effect their time, space, and movement modality. In reference to 'the means of correct training', ballet as a discipline enforces and values many of the practices that Foucault (1995) detailed. Hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and the examination ensure the success of discipline within the institution of ballet. The institution of ballet tends to go unchallenged because dancers embody the value of ballet as a discipline.

In Chapter III, I found that occupational sex segregation is a serious problem in ballet. Men are predominantly in the administrative roles and women are more likely to be assistants or receptionists in the administrative departments. According to Williams (1995) vertical segregation perpetuates the wage gap between men and women, perpetuates gender stereotypes and impedes women from pursuing prestigious careers such as Artistic Director. Williams (1992) argued that male bonding contributes to the over representation of men in administrative roles, thus the policies and practices that occur in the institution of ballet tend to be male biased.

In Chapter IV, I found the institution of ballet affects the female dancers within the system in a number of ways. Ballet as a cultural institution enforces a double standard which dictates gender appropriate behavior. Dancers are subjected to an infantilization process which encourages passive behavior and subservient relationships. The institution of ballet mandates set body images that women are to strive for and, in doing so, women may experience self esteem problems and eating disorders. Even though, in terms of numbers, ballet is dominated by women, it is an institution that continues to promote men into the top positions. Ballet is not recognized as a career in society, it is viewed more as

a past time. Female choreographers are few and far between. Resistance from the dancers to social processes which sustain ballet as a gendered institution is rare.

In Chapter I, I indicated that she would address the following questions in the thesis: 1) what does the institution of ballet look like? 2) is the institution of ballet gendered? 3) how does the institution of ballet affect the female dancers within the institution? 4) how do female dancers perpetuate ballet as an institution?

CONCLUSION

What Does the Institution of Ballet Look Like?

Ballet companies vary depending on the size of the company. There are, however, three main components: the artistic staff, the administrative staff, and the dancers represented in all companies. Each company was shaped like a pyramid with the most people, predominantly females, employed as dancers at the bottom and the fewest number of people, predominantly males, employed as artistic staff at the top. These findings confirmed my impressions of the ballet world.

Is the Institution of Ballet Gendered?

Hanna (1987) and Adair (1992) claimed that ballet is a gender related prestige hierarchy that is occupationally differentiated and sex segregated with men dominating the positions of power. Men are disproportionately the directors, managers and choreographers. These are the positions of power. Hanna (1987) explained that the lack of women in management positions is due to society closing off the most prestigious careers to the weaker sex. The dominant ethos in ballet portrays women as inferior, less

capable, and weak. Williams (1992) claimed that women experience invisible barriers that block their entrance into administrative positions. The glass ceiling contributes to the vertical segregation of men and women in the institution of ballet and at the same time men are directed towards management as if an invisible escalator is helping them to reach the top.

I confirmed Hanna (1987) and Adair's (1992) statement that men dominate the positions of power. The programs and surveys documented that up to 81% of men in the artistic and administrative departments are fulfilling jobs in a managerial or directorship capacity (please see Table 4, p. 61). Though no statistical data was available for the number of men functioning as choreographers, the companies' archives have records that keep track of all the people who have set choreography on the company. As few as three female choreographers have been used in the past forty years with company C. The four interviewees all confirmed that female choreographers are a rarity in the ballet world.

I found that the barriers that are keeping women out of management may not be so invisible. Starting at a very young age, girls learn the integral role the gaze plays in the institution of ballet. Understanding the importance of the gaze allows these young women to internalize self gaze and become aware of their bodily faults compared to the ideal ballerina body. With time these dancers develop a sense of shame and failure from trying different methods to obtain the ideal ballerina body, but always falling short because it is impossible to overcome one's genetic make up. The interviewees placed so much emphasis on body image and the sense of shame and failure associated with it, that women's low self esteem may be blocking their consideration of entering into

administrative roles because of their fear of failure. Duncan (1994) stated that "when women do fall short, their failures prey on their self-esteem, setting up debilitating cycles of self hatred" (p. 63). The interviewees suggested that the dominant ethos, women being inferior, less capable and weak, (also described by Hanna, 1987) is enforced at a very young age with the double standard that benefits male dancers over female dancers. Female dancers are treated as little girls, are subjected to an infantilization process, and females are not trained to run companies. Karen Kain (1994) stated that the highly structured environment of the ballet company created an invisible barrier to personal maturity and independence. Though male dancers experience an infantilization process also, men usually start dancing about ten years later than women so they have time to develop a better sense of themselves. In the institution of ballet girls are raised and constructed to be dancers whereas boys are raised and constructed to be dancers that will eventually take on responsibilities and leadership roles in the dance community. Two of the interviewees indicated, however, that they will not consider entering administration because they want to have children and having children is not compatible with the traveling that is necessary when one is fulfilling certain positions of power in the ballet world. Three out of four of the interviewees confirmed that there seems to be a glass escalator that carries men into administrative positions.

Foucault (1995) described the body as a locus for social control. Bartky (1992) critiqued Foucault because Foucault treats male and female bodies as if they have the same relationship to institutions. Bartky (1992) addressed disciplinary practices that engender the docile bodies of women. Hanna (1987) stated gender means different things to men

and women and it is men's construction of femininity that is played out in the production and visual imagery of dance.

I found that a dancer's body is definitely a locus for social control. Two of the surveys from company C and the four interviewees discussed the importance that was put on maintaining a certain body image that equated excessive thinness with beauty. I believe that because the three Artistic Directors of the companies are male, the Ballet Masters are male, and the majority of Choreographers are male, it is men's construction of femininity that female dancers are trying desperately to achieve. The institution of ballet is gendered because it reflects the experiences, prejudices and orientations of men more than women.

How does the institution of ballet affect the female dancers within the system?

In Chapter IV seven themes were identified that affect the female dancers within the institution of ballet. Women's docile bodies are habituated to external regulation, subjection, transformation and improvement. Women who want to stay within the institution of ballet have to adhere to a set body image or they will be dismissed. Cathy stated that women need to have "nice feet, beautiful legs, a nice physique, and be beautiful" in order to compete for roles against other dancers (personal communication, October 31, 1997). Daly (1987) and Bartky (1992) found that domination debilitates a women's agency to make a decision for herself. Women denied agency have to follow the rules of the discipline and accept the social processes that are a part of ballet as an institution.

I found that the seven themes stated in the summary for Chapter IV leaves the female dancers with low self esteem and complacent. The four interviewees were very

shy. All four dancers spoke very softly and rarely made direct eye contact with me. Dancers are not raised to express themselves through language, but through the use of their bodies traveling through space. However, the dancers are incredibly disciplined to follow the daily regime that they endure and each of the four interviewees seemed to have a very clear focus of their future after dance.

How Do Female Dancers Perpetuate Ballet as an Institution?

Discipline is both enforced and voluntarily produced (Barky, 1992). Female dancers internalize the value of the discipline of ballet which perpetuates the power the institution of ballet has over these individuals. From the interview data, I determined that men and women experience similar physical aging processes that result in the dancers' retirement. After retirement, many female dancers are choosing to have children, which creates a pool of males eligible to move to artistic and administrative roles. Thus men will be in positions to continue to construct particular representations of femininity and produce ballets.

I found that discipline is enforced on female dancers, but that female dancers also internalize the discipline. Cathy, Nina, Lena, and Audrey could leave company A at any time, but they choose to stay because they love the art of ballet. In order to stay within the company, the dancers must follow the rules, thus the dancers follow the discipline of the art, the discipline of the company and the discipline that they internalize. For a while Lena was going through a difficult time and even though she was dancing with the company eight hours a day somehow she did not find that enough and each night after rehearsals she would go to the gym to work out. Lena said sometimes she would get

home and collapse on the bed from sheer exhaustion, but the next day would come and she would do it all over again (personal communication, November 1, 1997). No one was policing Lena, it was Lena that had internalized the idea of the ideal ballerina body. This made her go to the gym every night after an eight hour day of dancing. Only one of the four interviewees wants to enter into the artistic or administrative department when she retires as a professional dancer. One interviewee stated that she would not move into an administrative role because she does not want that much responsibility or power (Cathy, personal communication, October 31, 1997). By women leaving ballet after they have finished dancing professionally, they contribute to the sex segregation in the institution of ballet because it is men that then move into these positions.

FUTURE RESEARCH

There is a great need for research in ballet beyond that of focusing on eating disorders or dancers' injuries. It is time to explore if the concept of beauty equated with thinness is going out of style. Is the construction of femininity, in the institution of ballet, changing to include strong, muscular bodies? There is a need for further exploration into the social processes that affect female dancers. Is it in fact possible to stop perpetuating the institution of ballet without giving up the discipline of ballet?

More examples of resistance to the social processes that the institution of ballet perpetuates need to be found in order to construct a genealogy of the institution of ballet. I recognize that resistance works at the margins and that it is more probable to find examples of resistance outside the institution of ballet by males or females. Choreography

produced by females needs to be analyzed to see whether female choreographers construct and produce ballets that conform to the traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity or whether female choreographers construct and produce subversive images of women on stage. Considering the three companies used in this study were all founded by women and are all presently being run by a male Artistic Director, I would like to explore how the dynamics of a company change to encourage men as Artistic Directors. Hanna (1987) listed the ballet companies that were founded by women:

> Ballet Rambert by Dame Marie Rambert, the Royal Ballet by Ninnette de Valois, American Ballet Theatre by Lucia Chase [and Richard Pleasant], Chicago Ballet by Ruth Page, Pennsylvania Ballet by Barbra Weisberger, and Boston Ballet by E. Virginia Williams (p. 30).

Are these companies presently run by male Artistic Directors and, if so, what has changed within the company since the founder to create a climate that encourages men to take on these responsibilities?

Further, considering that there is not even one female Artistic Director in Canada, it would be interesting to interview women in other countries who are presently fulfilling the role of Artistic Directory to see what they have to say about the job, women in ballet, the institution of ballet, and the world of ballet. A comparison of the cultural climate that these women work in might explain why Canadian ballet does not support the construction and production of ballets by women.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD OF DANCE

This research project was intentionally broad in order to accommodate what little theory has been written on the institution of ballet. Though the data collected in this study is numerically small, the information obtained is of great benefit. It is difficult to access the ballet community and little research has been done on the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity. Until this research project, almost all references to ballet were American. This study, focussed on Canadian ballet companies, describing the institution of ballet and the job positions available in it. It confirmed my suspicions that the institution of ballet is gendered and addressed social issues that had not yet been researched in the institution of ballet. The research tested some of the theories found in gender issues and dance such as gendered hierarchy (Hanna, 1988, Adair, 1992) and the infantilization of dancers (Hanna, 1988, Adair, 1992). This study continued Ann Daly's work on strengthening the bond between feminism and ballet and looked at ballet as an institution by relating Foucault's (1991) theories of power relationships, docile bodies, and means of correct training to the discipline of ballet. This study acknowledged ballet as a career and continued Williams' (1995) work on men in predominantly female occupations. I believed that it was important to examine the institution of ballet and to describe it in relation to the female dancers within it in order to lay down a foundation for future research regarding gender issues in dance, ballet and feminism, feminist philosophy and ballet, and Foucault and the institution of ballet.

ADDENDUM

After reviewing this thesis I feel like I have done a great injustice to the art of ballet. In my defense I was asked "why anyone would stay in ballet?" and to me the answer was abundantly clear. I am aware that this thesis is depressing, that children who are heavily involved in the institution of ballet often suffer, and that as a teacher within the community I am partly responsible for perpetuating this trend. However, I strongly believe that the art of ballet is one of the most beautiful and fulfilling experiences a person could have.

The discipline of ballet is an incredible art full of beauty, grace and energy. It allows me to express myself when no words say what I am feeling. In my life, the greatest pleasure in the world is going on stage and touching people emotionally. If I can make one person laugh, cry or even think, then I have completed my goal. It is true that ballet is hard work and it requires dedication, commitment, and drive, as does any art or sport, but when I get up on a stage every ounce of work was worth it and that is the power of ballet!

What this thesis has made clear to me is that the discipline of ballet is not the problem. The problem is how we have taken an art form and enclosed it inside professional institutions that are trying to produce superb dancers by a very young age. Meanwhile, no one wants to take on the responsibility of ensuring the dancers' best interests. I will continue to be an active member in the dance community and to give my students the best training and care I possibly can. At the same time I will not give up on somehow changing the system.

FOR THE LOVE OF DANCE...

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APPENDIX A

LETTER TO Executive Director

Attention: Executive Director

Dear Executive Director:

My name is Aletheia Fitz and I am part of a research team at the University of Alberta that is conducting a research project to determine the internal structure of ballet companies and patterns that occur. It is my understanding that there has been no research conducted on the structure of a ballet company. Titles such as 'Prima Ballerina' or 'Artistic Director' are common terms to those who enjoy the arts, but what do these positions really involve? I would like to determine what the structure of a ballet company looks like, what positions are within this structure and what qualifications are required to obtain these positions. Your support would be immensely appreciated.

This study would require approximately 20 minutes of each employees' time to fill out a short questionnaire and return it to myself in a self addressed, postage paid, envelope. The questionnaire asks only for name, age, origin, citizenship, rank within the company, length of time with the company, training, and qualifications or certifications.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. No one is required to fill out the questionnaire. All names, as well as the company's name, will be kept in strict confidentiality at all times and will not be used in any publications. The research team will follow the American Psychological Association's rules of confidentiality.

I believe that the results of this study are important in raising awareness that ballet is a non-profit business worth recognizing. This study is important in promoting ballet as a viable career by bringing to the attention of future dancers a greater awareness of career possibilities within the field of dance.

Enclosed please find an informed consent form. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at any time at (403) 434-9356.

Sincerely,

Aletheia Fitz, B.A., A.I.S.T.D.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

SUBJECT CONSENT

An examination of the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity. The purpose of this study is to determine what the structure of a ballet company looks like, what positions are within this structure and what qualifications are required to obtain these positions.

INVESTIGATORS

Aletheia Fitz, Dr. M. Padfield, Dr. D. Shogan, and Dr. K. Hughes

I, _____ (Subject's name) am giving my consent to participate in this research study. In doing so, I understand fully all the following statements:

1. I expect to have my confidentiality fully protected and that of the company of which I am associated during the time of the study, in the future and in any published results.
2. The information to be collected in the questionnaire includes: name, age, origin, citizenship, rank within the company, length of time with the company, training, and qualifications or certifications. The total time required for my participation is approximately 20 minutes.
3. I understand that I am voluntarily participating in this study and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason, without any consequences.
4. I have been informed of the possible benefits of my participation in this project and understand that there is virtually no risk associated with my participation.

5. I understand that there will be no financial remuneration for my participation in this study.

6. I understand that any questions I have related to any part of the study will be answered fully and to my total satisfaction.

7. I hereby make available to Aletheia Fitz and her committee all results obtained as a consequence of my participation in this project, whether these results are in individual or group form.

8. I further certify that all procedures in which I will be involved have been fully explained to me. I hereby declare that I am totally satisfied with these explanations.

_____	_____	_____
Subject's Name	Investigator's Name	Date
_____	_____	_____
Subject's Name	Investigator's Name	Date

PLEASE CONTACT ALETHEIA FITZ (403) 434-9356 OR DR. M. PADFIELD, (403) 492-3615 WITH ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY.

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY - REQUIREMENTS FOR JOB EMPLOYMENT

1. Date: _____
2. Name: _____
3. Age: _____
4. Origin: _____
5. Citizenship: _____
6. Rank within the Company: _____
7. Length of time with the Company: _____
8. Training: _____
9. Qualifications or Certifications: _____
10. Additional Comments: _____

_____

Thank you for your co-operation.

Enclosed please find an informed consent form. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at any time at (403) 434-9356.

Sincerely,

Aletheia Fitz, B.A., A.I.S.T.D.

APPENDIX C

DANCER RECRUITMENT LETTER

Dear Dancer:

Thank you so much for taking the time to complete the survey entitled Requirements for job employment. The information you offered is greatly appreciated!

The survey is the first half of a study I am conducting for my Master of Arts at the University of Alberta. The second part focuses on how the institution of ballet affects female dancers within the system. In order to find out about this and get information, I would like to interview five dancers from the same company. The interview would require as little or as much time as you would like to give. I will gladly interview you at the most convenient time and location for you.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary and no one is required to say anything they don't want to. All names, as well as the company's name, will be kept in strict confidentiality at all times and will not be used in any publications. The research team will follow the American Psychological Association's rules of confidentiality. At your request a pseudonym can be chosen to maintain anonymity of yourself and the company.

I believe that the results of this study are important in raising awareness that ballet is a non-profit business worth recognizing. This study is important in promoting ballet as a viable career by bringing to the attention of future dancers a greater awareness of career possibilities within the field of dance.

If for any reason you do not want to complete this study, or any portions there of, you may refuse to participate at any time with no repercussions.

If you are interested in participating in this portion of the study as an interviewee please call me at (403) 434-9356 as soon as possible. Enclosed you will find an informed consent form that must be signed and mailed back to me before the interview is

to take place. If you have any questions please feel free to call me.

Sincerely,

Aletheia Fitz, B.A., A.I.S.T.D.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

SUBJECT CONSENT

An examination of the institution of ballet and its role in constructing a representation of femininity. The purpose of this study is to determine how the institution of ballet affects female dancers within the system.

INVESTIGATORS

Aletheia Fitz, Dr. M. Padfield, Dr. D. Shogan, and Dr. K. Hughes

I, _____ (Subject's name) am giving my consent to participate in this research study. In doing so, I understand fully all the following statements:

1. I expect to have my confidentiality fully protected and that of the company of which I am associated during the time of the study, in the future, and in any published results. I understand that I have the right to chose a pseudonym to protect my identity and that of the company I work for.

2. The information to be collected in the interview is based on what I have to say about how ballet as an institution affects female dancers within the system. The total time required for my participation is as little or as long as I like.

3. I understand that I am voluntarily participating in this study and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason, without any consequences.

4. I have been informed of the possible benefits of my participation in this project and understand that there is virtually no risk associated with my participation.

5. I understand that there will be no financial remuneration for my participation in this study.

6. I understand that any questions I have related to any part of the study will be answered fully and to my total satisfaction.

7. I hereby make available to Aletheia Fitz and her committee all results obtained as a consequence of my participation in this project, whether these results are in individual or group form.

8. I further certify that all procedures in which I will be involved have been fully explained to me. I hereby declare that I am totally satisfied with these explanations.

_____	_____	_____
Subject's Name	Investigator's Name	Date

_____	_____	_____
Subject's Name	Investigator's Name	Date

PLEASE CONTACT ALETHEIA FITZ (403) 434-9356 OR DR. M. PADFIELD, (403) 492-3615 WITH ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Qualitative probes for participant directed, open-ended interviews:

1) What was your motivation to enter ballet as a profession?

2) What were your experiences like training?

3) Tell me about your career progression.

4) Where do you see your career going in the future?

5) What are your general views about men's status and prospects within the field of ballet?

6) What are your general views about women's status and prospects within the field of ballet?

APPENDIX E

COMPANIES

COMPANY A (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Ratio	Females	Ratio	Total	Ratio
Artistic Staff	2	66.6%	1	33.3%	3	100%
Administrative Staff	3	60%	2	40%	5	100%
Dancers	9	45%	11	55%	20	100%

COMPANY B (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Ratio	Females	Ratio	Total	Ratio
Artistic Staff	2	40%	3	60%	5	100%
Administrative Staff*	9	25.71%	25	71.43%	35	100%
Dancers*	9	32.14%	16	57.14%	28	100%

*Total males and total females did not add up to the total number of employees because a few employees' gender was undetermined.

COMPANY C (1995 - 1996 Season)

Staff	Males	Ratio	Females	Ratio	Total	Ratio
Artistic Staff	4	40%	6	60%	10	100%
Administrative Staff	11	25.85%	32	74.42%	43	100%
Dancers	23	40.35%	34	59.65%	57	100%

COMPANY A (1995 - 1996 Season)

A) Artistic Staff

Male	Female
Artistic Director	Ballet Mistress
Ballet Master	

B) Administration

Male	Female
Executive Director	Controller
Director of Production	Administrative Assistant
Marketing/Development Manager	

C) Dancers

Male	Female
Dancers = 8	Dancers = 10
Apprentices = 1	Apprentices = 1

TOTAL = 28 Employees

COMPANY B (1995-1996 Season)

A) Artistic Staff

Male	Female
Artistic Director	Senior Ballet Mistress
Artistic Director Emeritus	Assistant to the Artistic Director
	Assistant to the Artistic Staff

B) Administration

Male	Female
Executive Director	Payroll Administrator
Facilities Manager	Data Entry Clerk
Accounting Manager	Executive Secretary
Controller	Receptionists = 3

C) Communications and Marketing

Male	Female
Publicity Manager	Acting Director of Communications and Marketing
	Communications Coordinator
	Community Programs Coordinator
	Customer Service Manager
	Customer Service Supervisor
	Customer Service Representative
	Customer Service Staff = 6

*Public Relations Coordinator (?)

D) Development

Male	Female
Development Assistant	Director of Development
	Development Associate = 2
	Development Assistant
	Sponsorship Director
	Sponsorship Assistant

E) Production

Male	Female
Production/Tour Director	Company Manager
Technical Director	
Production Stage Manager	

F) Dancers

Male	Female
Dancers = 8	Dancers = 14
Apprentices = 1	Apprentices = 2

*Dancers Undetermined Gender = 3

TOTAL = 68 Employees

COMPANY C (1995-1996 Season)

A) Artistic Staff

Male	Female
Artistic Director	Principal Ballet Mistress = 2
Assistant to the Artistic Director	Senior Ballet Mistress
Ballet Master	Ballet Mistress
Operations and Scheduling Coordinator	Administrative Manager
	Administrative Assistant

B) Administration

Male	Female
Company Manager	Executive Director
Director of Information	Associate Administrator
Manager of Technical Support	Assistant to the Company Manager
Accounts Payable Clerk	Controller
	Payroll Benefits Supervisor
	Payroll benefits assistant
	Accounting Assistant
	Assistant Systems Manager
	Executive Assistant, Secretary
	Office Manager
	Receptionist

C) Publicity

Male	Female
	Director of Public Relations
	Publicity Manager
	Archives/Publications Coordinator
	Publicity Assistant

D) Marketing

Male	Female
Manager Membership Programs	Director of Marketing and Membership
Telemarketing Manager	Marketing Manager and Subscriptions
Ticket Service Coordinators = 4	Marketing Manager and Promotions
	Marketing Coordinator
	Membership Coordinator
	Ticket Service Manager
	38-41) Ticket Service Coordinators

E) Development

Male	Female
Manager of Patrons Council	Director of Development
	Associate Director of Development
	Assistant to the Director of Development
	Managers of Corporate Sponsors = 2
	Planned Giving Coordinator
	Partners Council Coordinator
	Developmental Officer

F) Production

Male	Female
Production Director	Assistant to the Production Director
Manager of Production Services	

G) Dancers

Male	Female
Dancers = 20	Dancers = 30
Apprentices = 3	Apprentices = 4

TOTAL = 110 Employees